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Sometimes the addition or deletion of a single word involves the resetting of a whole paragraph and thus causes much unnecessary cost and delay.

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THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

AUGUST 1951

FRANCE AFTER THE ELECTION

M. PEBELLIER, addressing the new National Assembly, put in a plea, if not for Vichy, at least for certain classes of Vichyists. The circumstance had no great political significance. He was simply presiding at the first sitting as the oldest man elected. But the fact that he was listened to in comparative calm shows that the new Assembly has freed itself from the severely "Resistant" atmosphere of the old. The net result of the election is that the Centre coalition, extended by *apparentements* towards the Centre Right, has come back about as strong as the old majority. The communists and Gaullists together number about 220, as the two oppositions did before. Within the coalition there has been some displacement of forces. The Moderates, who presented themselves in the electoral lists as Independents or Peasants, are more numerous and more compactly organised. The Radicals have gained strength. The socialists have held their ground. The M.R.P. has lost fifty seats.

In estimating the deeper political consequences of the election it must be remembered that the democratic régime was on its defence. The coalition formed by the *apparentements* was not an alliance of parties with a common programme. It was an association of groups of differing views concerned to defeat the Communists. As the Gaullists chose to stand alone, except for a few local pacts, the coalition had also to combat the R.P.F. Many observers, especially abroad, were impressed by the performance of the R.P.F. This was the first election of the National Assembly in which the Gaullists had taken part. They polled 4 million votes. Their Deputies form the largest single group in the Chamber. Clearly they are now a first-class Parliamentary force to be reckoned with. But to take a true measure of this achievement the large pretensions and the previous electoral performances of the Gaullists must be borne in mind. Their declared aim is to change the régime. Executive government, they argue, should no longer spring from the parties. If General de Gaulle's proposed Constitution were adopted the President of the Republic would really rule in his own person. He would appoint and dismiss Ministers without leaving Parliament a say in the matter. To amend the Constitution to their liking the Gaullists would need to get together an absolute majority of the National Assembly. That would mean the addition of 200 Parliamentary votes to their own 120. As for electoral performances, the R.P.F. gained its most spectacular success not at this election but at the municipal elections of 1947. The flood of opinion towards Gaullism on that occasion was described as a "tidal wave." On the strength of it General de Gaulle called for the dissolution of the National Assembly. At this year's general election there was no tidal wave. On the contrary there was a marked falling-off

in the Gaullist vote in the large towns where it had been strongest four years ago.

The main lesson of the election is that it showed the existence of a general body of opinion, much the most important, in favour of genuine Parliamentary government. The Socialists, M.R.P. and Radicals, with their affiliated groups, received about 7 million votes (leaving out the 2 million of the Independents). The Gaullists obtained roughly 4 million votes, the Communists 5 million. Of the three sections the democratic coalition was the only one which received solid support fairly distributed over the whole country. The electoral map shows that the Socialists, M.R.P. and Radicals together polled 30 per cent. of the total poll in the great majority of departments. The Communists obtained 30 per cent. in three well-defined patches in the north, the centre and the south-east. The R.P.F. reached 30 per cent. in less than a score of departments, chiefly in the east and west. France south of the Loire was definitely anti-Gaullist; the R.P.F. vote was less than 20 per cent. in most departments, and in about a dozen less than 10 per cent. The general trend of opinion is clear. Electors accepted the system of *apparentements* and understood its purpose. It is, of course, absurd to add Gaullist strength to Communist strength, as if the two together represented some common anti-democratic opinion. All Gaul is divided into three parts, not into two.

A politician famous for his irony once said that a French Chamber spends the first half of its life in discovering the majority resulting from the last election and the second half in preparing for the next. Where government is by coalition the search for the effective majority and a Ministry to suit it is inevitable. A glance at the distribution of forces in the new National Assembly suggests that the search will be laborious. It would be daring to hope that the first choice will be the final one. Immediately after the election the parties began their manoeuvres for position. General de Gaulle advanced, though not very earnestly, a claim that the R.P.F., as the largest group in the Assembly should form the Government. In a later declaration he said that if the Third Force and their allies took the direction of affairs the R.P.F. would not adopt an attitude of "sterile negation" but would defend its objectives. Among the objectives set out in the R.P.F.'s programme simultaneously published with this declaration, is the reform of the State. While it is proposed that the powers of the two Assemblies should be brought into equilibrium, and recourse to the country should be made possible by dissolution and referendum, there is no direct mention of authoritarian government with the President of the Republic as the active head of the Executive. Actual presence in Parliament as a strong group will be a new and testing experience for the R.P.F. In one way or another it will be drawn to define its attitude in the practical discussion of current affairs. Its position in Parliamentary life will be somewhat equivocal, since the leader is not at present a member of the Assembly and cannot be actually on the field to conduct operations.

Looking at the array of parties which formed the electoral coalition the observer gets an impression not of homogeneity but of diversity.

from the Independents to the Socialists it stretches widely across the vague dividing line between Right and Left. It was a proper association for the defence of the régime. It is a much less obvious formation for government. The Independents, who seem likely to fall into two groups, are socially Conservative or mildly Liberal, but decidedly anti-Socialist. The Socialists are the Left of the coalition. "Liberalised" and less dogmatic than they used to be, they have nevertheless stiffened their defence of the social reforms of the last six years. They have laid down, since the election, the severe terms on which they are ready to participate in government. The benefits of the social security system are not to be touched. The nationalisations are to be maintained. The attitude of the State towards the Churches and religious education is not to be changed. Perhaps the Socialist statement of terms was intended not to serve as an absolute ultimatum but to establish firm ground from which to negotiate. It may have been designed to discourage the more ardent of the Moderates from too drastic interference with recent social reforms. Certainly business and industrial interests are more strongly represented in this National Assembly than in the last. These interests, like everybody else, have felt the general pressure of inflation and high prices. M. Roger Duchet, a competent spokesman for the Independents, said they wanted revision of all legislation hampering production. They also asked that the nationalisations should be put in order.

If the whole of the electoral coalition is to constitute the new governing majority a good deal of accommodation will be required. Such a majority is not inconceivable under compelling necessity. Half a century ago Waldeck-Rousseau formed and kept a majority made up of the Republican Moderates and the parties of the Left to rescue French politics from the chaos of the Dreyfus *affaire*. But the present difficulties are obvious. And, apart from other difficulties, the Independents do not seem to possess a man of high personal standing to play the part of Waldeck-Rousseau. M. Paul Reynaud is a man of ideas and great power of expression, but it was apparent in the last Assembly that he was unacceptable to the Socialists. From the point of view of accommodation between parties it is unfortunate that the Socialist Parliamentary group no longer possesses M. Ramadier, a Right-Wing man. He lost his seat at the election, although he increased his poll. In the difficult period of 1947, when he was Prime Minister, M. Ramadier showed his sense of government, and he would have been well qualified to negotiate with the Centre groups in the present Parliament.

Immediate subjects of controversy on which any Government and its majority will have to take position are the financing of the nationalisations and the social security system and the schools question. There is a widespread demand that the nationalisations and the social services should be made self-supporting in the sense that heavy deficits should not continue to be piled on the annual Parliamentary budget. As a political issue the question of the Catholic schools has perhaps been given an exaggerated importance. Those who wish to separate the R.P. from the Socialists have an interest in keeping it to the front. The difficulties of the Catholic schools have become acute, and Catholic

parents have demanded financial aid because education, like everything else, has become expensive. But all these agitated questions form part of the general problem of State finance. Budgeting is mainly a question of which economies to choose, over the whole field of reconstruction, re-equipment, social services, nationalised enterprises, rearmament, the war in Indo-China. Any action taken in any of these matters will raise dispute. And while a State financial policy is being elaborated, economic discontent will continue to disturb the process unless some fair practical stabilisation is established in prices and wages. It was the failure of the last Legislature that, in spite of repeated increases in wages, purchasing power was never stabilised for long. There is a good deal to be said for the view that rearmament should be managed without the abandonment of a reasonable standard of living. Apart from its repercussions on confidence and on the State finances, continued instability in living conditions has direct political consequences. The Communist vote was diminished at the general election, but it was still very large. It is notorious that the working-class support which the Communists received was attributable in great measure not to the attraction of Communism but to the prevalence of discontent.

In these conditions it is perhaps too much to hope for lasting stability of government. It is possible that when the National Assembly has settled down and organised its groups a majority will emerge with the driving force required to carry out certain necessary economies and adapt the nationalised enterprises. But stability in Parliament is chiefly difficult now because there is instability in opinion in the country. Normally in France the floating vote is comparatively small. Since the liberation it has been considerable. Both the R.P.F. and the Communists have for the time being attracted a good deal of this floating vote. The success of the *apparentements* at the recent election is, however, a move towards a more normal distribution of forces and therefore towards stability. France is slowly forming a new body politic. The best way of regarding the election is as a useful stage in the evolution.

While France was preoccupied with the general election and its results the problem of European rearmament—and particularly of German rearmament—took on a new urgency. Possibly this was due to apprehension in America and elsewhere lest the prospect of a truce in Korea might weaken the general determination to rearm. Mr. MacCloy, the American High Commissioner in Germany, after a visit to Washington on July 3rd, said that final decision on the form of German rearmament would probably be postponed until it was seen what possibilities would be held out by the project for a European army. A fresh impetus was given to the discussion by the despatch of M. Theodor Blank to take over the leadership of the German delegation at the Paris Conference on the subject.

Meanwhile M. Hervé Alphanand had taken occasion at the end of June to restate the French case. It is significant that M. Alphanand is the French delegate both at the Paris Conference on the European army and on the Council of the Atlantic Pact. The French view, as he

pressed it, continues to lay emphasis on Europe. The defence of continental Europe should be a fundamental common objective. The Atlantic association is defensive ; it is not a question of preparing war or of organising a defence powerful enough to preserve peace. It is on account of this pacific nature of the Western organisation that France desires that the German contribution should be within a European army, made up of the various national contingents brought together at the lowest level compatible with military efficiency.

One aspect of the controversy concerns this question of military efficiency. German suggestions are said to regard the division as the minimum technical requirement." Whatever basic unit may be agreed upon, the division or another, the French idea is that above this level the command should be European. From the French point of view the danger seems to be that the Americans, as well as some military experts, may prefer separate national armies, which the various countries are accustomed to organising, to "denationalised" contingents which would have to be formed into a European army by delicate machinery not yet fully designed.

W. L. MIDDLETON.

Pressagny l'Orgueilleux, par Vernon.

ITALY AFTER THE ELECTIONS

NOW that British local elections are being increasingly run on party lines, and are interpreted as showing how people will vote at the next general election, we can better understand the significance attached to local elections on the Continent. It may have puzzled us in 1931 when King Alfonso XIII took the local elections as a sign that he should leave Spain ; but we were less surprised when the full weight of the party machines and the full effort of national orators was thrown into the administrative elections, as they are called in Italy, which were held in that country on May 27th-28th and June 10th, and are to be concluded in the autumn.

Every wall and every arcade was plastered with party posters, and the law requires each party to have a pictorial symbol for the benefit of the illiterate, the scene was confusingly picturesque as well as politically edifying. The Christian Democratic Party remained faithful to its shield bearing a red cross, but the Communist Party and its ally the (Nenni) Socialist Party were shyer about identifying themselves with the hammer and sickle, and sought to mingle it with more acceptable emblems such as the head of Garibaldi or a rising sun. The best effort was perhaps that of a small party which took as its symbol a plate of steaming polenta, and invited the votes of all polenta-eaters, which means the whole population of Italy. An argument put out one day in a party poster invariably produced a poster reply the following day. When the standing walls were covered, temporary wooden walls appeared to bear their load of print. Signor de Gasperi, the Prime Minister, plunged into the contest from the outset, beginning in his native Trento ; and all his leading supporters and opponents were

equally active. The contest was fought by all on a national scale ; and although the question at issue was the control of the local councils far more was heard of the Atlantic Pact than of the state of the drains. It was a strenuous and fair fight, and, as we have no suggestions of intimidation or falsification, the electors may be regarded as having given their answer to the question, " Where stands Italy to-day ? " But what the answer is can be differently interpreted.

If the test is the number of councils controlled by the Communists and their allies before and after the elections the Italian Left has suffered a major reverse. Control of over 700 communes has been lost by the Left in these first two rounds of the elections, bringing to over 1,000 the number lost since the general election on April 18th, 1948. These included sixty communes with more than 10,000 inhabitants and sixteen capitals of provinces. Such famous cities as Milan, Genoa, Turin and Venice have been lost by the Left Wing, and among the big cities contested Bologna is the only one to retain a Communist controlled council. " Red Emilia " remains Red, but even Piacenza was retained only by the narrowest of majorities.

There is no secret about the way in which this result has been achieved. It is the consequence of a new electoral law which lays down that, when a party or group of parties gets a majority of the votes in a constituency, it is allocated two-thirds of the seats, and which permits parties to group themselves together for this purpose. This system has, of course, been represented by the Communists as gerrymandering, and undoubtedly it has operated against them ; but whether we consider it democratic or undemocratic, moral or immoral, will depend upon the view we take of proportional representation. If the object of an election is to secure in the new council a mathematically exact reflection of the state of parties as shown by the poll the change must be condemned ; but if one object of an election is to produce a government strong enough to govern, it may be right to exaggerate the changes shown in public opinion at the polls, and the change in the law may be applauded. We in the United Kingdom, at any rate, are in no position to condemn it for under our system the candidate who gets most votes in an election for a constituency secures the whole of its representation, even though his poll may be well below 50 per cent. of the total votes cast. The system of grouping parties known in Italy as *apparentamento delle liste* and in France as *apparentement des listes* is a recognition that the object of an election is to produce a government that can govern, as well as to produce a reflection of public opinion. It has been well described as enabling a voter to say, first what kind of régime he wants to live under, and then what party he desires to have the power in that régime.

It is this change which explains why it is possible to take two views of the results of the election, for although the Christian Democrats have wrested control of many councils from the Communists and their Socialist allies, their share of the total votes cast has dropped since the general election of 1948. The official figures for the absolute and percentage votes given to the various party lists in the local elections of May 27th-28th and June 10th in 337 communes with not more

than 10,000 inhabitants (excluding capitals of provinces) are shown below :

Party List	Votes	Percentage of Total Votes
Italian Communist Party	825,018	24.20
Italian Socialist Party	464,885	13.64
Mixed lists of Socialists, Communist and Left Independents	219,726	6.44
Social Democrats	143,082	4.19
Independent Left	12,132	0.35
Mixed lists of Social Democrats and Republicans	94,860	2.78
Italian Republic Party	55,493	1.62
Christian Democratic Party	1,221,745	35.89
Mixed lists of Christian Democrats and others	129,949	3.80
Italian Liberal Party	41,192	1.20
Mixed lists of Liberals and others	6,521	0.19
Independents	47,949	1.40
Monarchists	21,523	0.63
Movimento Sociale Italiano	60,471	1.79
Mixed lists of the Right	17,636	0.51
Other lists	46,971	1.37
	3,408,153	100.0

These figures were greeted by *Unità* as showing that the Left had 44.39 per cent. of the votes (Communists, Socialists and mixed Left lists) against the 35.89 per cent. of the Christian Democrats. By the Christian Democratic Minister of Education, Signor Gonella, they were interpreted as showing that the Christian Democrats and their allies had 56 per cent. of the votes against 37 per cent. cast for the parties of the Popular front. *Chacun à son goût*. There are nevertheless certain conclusions that can certainly be drawn from the table, even if we bear in mind that it covers only one-fifth of the persons who went to the polls.

Let us begin with the Socialists. On January 28th a great stir was caused by the resignation from the Communist Party of two Deputies, Signor Aldo Cucchi and Signor Valdo Magnani, and interest was added on May 13th when Signor Carlo Matteotti, bearing an honoured name, left the Italian Socialist Party which, under Signor Nenni's leadership, has always stood shoulder to shoulder with the Communists. These events were thought to indicate grave disquiet on the Left, and the fusion on May 1st of the two moderate Socialist groups, the Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani led by Signor Saragat and the Partito Socialista Unitario (P.S.U.) led by Signor Romita, encouraged Third Force hopes. The united party was called the Partito Socialista—Sezione Italiana della Internazionale Socialista, or more commonly the Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani, and in the table above it appears as Social Democrats. Though not negligible, it has not had any marked influence on the results. The Nenni Socialists,

on the other hand, who polled 13·64 per cent. of the total votes, have shown that they are still a big force in the land, and although their policy is indistinguishable from that of the Communists they have refused to lose their identity. This may be in part because Signor Nenni, who is ineffective at the council table, retains all his dangerously spell-binding power over the masses when he ascends a platform; whereas Signor Togliatti has endured grave operations in the past few years and is suspected by Moscow of even graver political deviations.

At the other end of the scale the neo-Fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement) has again failed to make any marked impression on the electorate despite immense propaganda, which seems to have deafened some commentators even after the announcement of the results. A party which gained only 1·79 per cent. of the total votes cast can hardly be regarded as constituting a danger to the community. The Monarchists have made equally little impression. The contest in Italy remains, as it was in 1948, between the Christian Democrats with their allies on the one side and the Communists and Nenni Socialists on the other.

The Left Wing has not failed to point out that the share of the total vote secured by the Christian Democrats has fallen to 35·89 per cent. from the 48·7 per cent. secured in the elections for the Camera in 1948, and that the Communists and Nenni Socialists together obtained 37·84 per cent. compared with the 30·7 per cent. secured by the Popular Front in 1948. (It is unfortunately not possible to compare the changes in the fortunes of the Communists and Socialists separately as they presented a combined list in 1948.) These figures suggest that there has been a falling off in support for the Christian Democrats and an increase in support for the Communists and Socialists; but before this conclusion is accepted two big qualifications are necessary. In the first place the change in the electoral law, while favouring the Christian Democrats in the matter of seats, has operated against them in the matter of the total poll; for in 1948 many persons who would not describe themselves as Christian Democrats voted for that party because in it they saw the only bulwark against Communism, whereas in 1951, owing to the *apparentamento delle liste*, they have been able to vote for their own parties. In the second place the elections are not yet over, and those so far held have been in the regions where the Left is strongest. Those of May 27th-28th were held in twenty-eight provinces of Northern Italy, those of June 10th in provinces of the north-east and north-west, Tuscany and Apulia, along with a number of Adriatic provinces. The elections in Rome and most of the south are not to be held till the autumn, and there can hardly be any doubt that these will redress the figures to the advantage of the Christian Democrats. Elections for the Sicilian Regional Assembly were held on June 4th, but these hardly give a reliable clue as Sicily has always been *sui generis*—that is why it has a Regional Assembly. Incomplete results showed that the Communists gained 33·20 per cent. of the votes cast, the Christian Democrats 32·93 per cent. and the M.S.I. (much stronger in Sicily than elsewhere) 14·8 per cent. This shows a fall in the Communist vote since the local elections of 1947, but a rise since the general

lection of 1948 ; it is probable that many votes given to the Christian Democrats in 1948 were transferred to the M.S.I. on this occasion.

In interpreting the results of these local elections it has also to be borne in mind that despite the barrage of propaganda many fewer electors took the trouble to go to the poll than in 1948, and the bigger vote which would be seen at a general election might alter the balance of parties. It is probable that this would be to the advantage of the Christian Democrats, as a Government in its third year is almost bound to lose in popularity, and the abstentions on this occasion have been mainly from people who would vote Christian Democrat when the control of the whole country was at stake.

In my view Italy has had since the war the best governments, under the leadership of Signor De Gasperi, which she has known since unification ; but I always bear in mind the story of the Athenian citizen who voted for the ostracism of Aristides because he was tired of hearing him called " the Just." Many Italians realise that they have made Signor De Gasperi a saint among politicians, but occasionally they could prefer a colourful sinner ! Though he has the support of the Vatican he has avoided the danger which besets all Roman Catholic parties of moving too far to the Right. In a speech to the party congress at Florence on June 20th he declared : " If we democratic Italians have one characteristic it is that we are a party of the Centre which is moving towards the Left, a party which has the idea of progress in the economic and in the social structure." There are some commentators who hold that the part so openly played in the elections by the Church antagonised anti-clerical elements and lost the Christian Democrats some support ; this is particularly invoked to explain why the Left has maintained its hold in what were formerly parts of the Papal States. Personally I see nothing improper in the clergy telling their flocks that to vote Communist would be a mortal sin, Communism being the materialist creed that it is, and I suspect the charge of improper influence is only the angry retort of the vanquished. It can hardly be sustained, however, even by the angriest Communist, that Christian Democracy is a party of black reaction ; and so long as it continues on the lines indicated by Signor De Gasperi, and so long as the Vatican does not withdraw its support (as in an unhappy moment it withdrew support from Don Sturzo in 1922) I feel confident that it will keep the Communists at bay.

The most obstinate of the problems which it has attempted to solve is that of land reform. Pasquale Villari's *Lettere Meridionali* drew attention to this problem as far back as 1875, and a Parliamentary inquiry between 1906 and 1911 produced eleven volumes on the subject. It would be unfair to say that this is all that has been done, for much was attempted in the way of resettlement under previous regimes. But the large annual increase in the Italian population, especially in the south, and the sharp restrictions imposed on the old law of emigrants, aggravated by the return of settlers from the lost colonies, have outstripped all that has been done ; and there is in Southern Italy poverty such as is not known in Western Europe outside Spain. I have given in a book called *The Problem of Italy*

reasons for believing that the problem is insoluble in a purely agricultural context ; far from Italian holdings of land being too large, many of them are much too small for efficient running, and what is needed is a revival of the old-scale emigration or a marked fall in the birth-rate, is a measure of industrialisation which would take half the population off the land. But while these solutions are awaited, the ownership of land in Italy, especially in the south, does constitute not an agricultural but a social problem, and Signor De Gasperi's Government has been addressing itself to the problem, not only from a natural inclination but from a knowledge that the Communists are exploiting the situation. The complicated measure for general land reform is still under discussion in Parliament, but that portion of it which concerns the south has been pushed ahead, and the law governing the Sila region of Calabria is now in effect. Here, on a plateau now hitherto inhabited, 1,000 new peasant farms together with six centuriate farms are being established. Under the general reform it is proposed that land should be taken from the large holdings and redistributed into small farms. Compensation would be paid, and the amount taken would depend both on the size of the holding and on the use to which it is put. This is, of course, very different from land reform as it is understood in the east of Europe, and although it is a marked advance in dealing with an intractable problem it has not satisfied the demands of landless peasants, and helps to account for the decline in the total vote cast for the Christian Democrats in the recent elections.

If gratitude played any conspicuous part in politics there ought to be a corresponding surge of support for the foreign policy of Signor De Gasperi's Government, which has been for four years in the experienced hands of Count Sforza. If we grant that his wholehearted support for the West cannot be palatable to the large numbers who have voted Communist and Socialist, even the Left ought to concede that it is a great achievement to have won back for Italy in so short a time her place among the nations. She has to pay for her choice by her exclusion from the United Nations ; she has been left with only the least developed of her pre-war colonies ; she has had to accept a treaty with unfavourable limitations ; but these are small things in comparison with the fact that she is treated as an equal partner in the Western association. Her recovery of her old place has been symbolised by the visits of Signor De Gasperi and Count Sforza to Paris and London, and by the reception of Dr. Adenauer in Rome, in each case not so much for detailed discussions as for a demonstration to the world. The problem of Trieste is still unsolved, but the tension has been reduced now that Marshal Tito has lost Russian support for his claims ; and from time to time the possibility of an agreed settlement between Italy and Yugoslavia has appeared to be in sight. Though Count Sforza has never always been able to secure detailed execution of his guiding lines of policy, those guiding lines, such as the agreement with France for a customs union, are in the constructive manner ; and he has fully brought out in office a phrase which he coined while still an exile, " No longer Italian problems, but only Italian sides of European problems."

IVOR THOMAS.

THE AUSTRIAN SCENE

THE recent election of the 78-year-old General Theodore Körner, Socialist Burgomaster of Vienna, to be President of the Republic was one of the most exciting and surprising political events since the Second Republic was established in 1945. The background and consequences are not always understood abroad.

Several weeks after the election I noticed an elderly man, tall, upright and soldierly, balding, with a square-cut white beard and full moustache, buying a few slices of ham in Kugler's delicatessen shop on the Kohlmarkt. It was the new President of Austria, without escort or detectives. I hastened to offer my congratulations.

"Congratulate the Socialist Party if you like, Gedye, but not me," Körner replied in excellent English. "I am very sorry about it. My Socialist friends told me it would be good for the party if I stood for election, and promised me there was not the remotest chance of my winning. And now look what has happened! But I refuse to let it stop a solitary old bachelor from doing his own shopping as before."

There is no doubt whatever that the Socialist Party leaders were sincere in guaranteeing Körner that there was no danger of his being elected. He was equally sincere in regretting that their miscalculations had resulted in his having to abandon at his advanced age his dignified and satisfactory position as the adored Burgomaster of Socialist Vienna for the arduous and delicate one of President of the Republic, elected after a violent political campaign, with nearly half of the population voting against him. By the Volkspartei (Catholic and Conservative) Press, and too often (to credulous mountain peasants) by politicising priests, Körner was presented as the "Red General," eager to sell his country to the Cominform and as a pyromaniac, responsible for the burning down of the Palace of Justice in 1927. The same Volkspartei propaganda had the audacity to sneer at Oscar Pollak, the Editor-in-Chief of the Socialist organ, the *Arbeiterzeitung*, calling him an "émigré" who deserted the workers and has now brought about a Red "Popular Front." Yet everyone knows that it was those who now attack Pollak thus, making at the same time veiled attempts to revive Nazi anti-semitic prejudice, who drove him (after two years' successful underground work against the Fascists) to flee the country. While these Volkspartei people got good posts under the Nazis, Pollak devoted himself to working for the liberation of his country in war-time London. Returning to Austria in 1945, Pollak, far from establishing a "Red Front," at once became the leading enemy of the Communists. He is easily the first candidate for a rope and a lamp-post if they should triumph. But the whole election, as even many Volkspartei leaders admit privately, has breathed new life into the dead bones of Austrian politics. The Four-Power Occupation had in the course of six oppressive years deprived all the political parties of their vitality. The uneasy but essential coalition of the progressive-minded Socialists with the still reactionary Volkspartei (despite its minority of modern, democratic and progressive elements) had turned the healthy sparring of opposed ideologies into lifeless shadow-boxing. Austrian political leaders of all

shades, and experienced foreign observers, nearly all thought it was a foregone conclusion that Körner would lose to the strictly Catholic and ultra-Conservative Dr. Gleissner, candidate of the Volkspartei.

Was the Volkspartei not the stronger partner in the coalition Government? Was it not axiomatic that the Socialists would always be in a majority in Vienna and the Clericalists in the provinces? True to form Gleissner had obtained a lead of 43,000 votes at the first ballot three weeks earlier. But as he secured less than 50 per cent. of the total votes cast at this ballot, a second had to be held. The four hopelessly defeated candidates—two ridiculous "Independents" who had almost no support, as well as the Communist Fiala (after scoring only 5 per cent.) and Burghardt Breitner (backed by the partly neo-Nazi V.D.U.J. or "Union of Independents," who scored 15·4 per cent.)—retired. Hoping to scare middle-class Socialist sympathisers into voting Volkspartei, the Communists tried to stab Körner in the back by announcing that their followers would vote for him. (The Socialists have since established, on the basis of voting statistics, that the Communist bosses must in fact have improved on this by a secret double-cross instruction to their more trusted followers to abstain from voting or to spoil their papers.) Breitner left his 15·4 per cent. free to vote as they pleased. Hatred of Clericalism must have driven more than half of them to vote Socialist in desperation; hatred of the masses and love of the Führer-principle drove the others to vote, though resentfully, for the Volkspartei candidate. The hitting below the belt by the latter led to local reprisals which were not always to the credit of the Socialist Party. One provincial poster of theirs which I saw in a remote corner of Styria ran: "Breitner Electors! You cannot vote for your own executioner. Think of 1934! In February, Dollfuss hanged Socialists, in July Fey and Gleissner hanged Nazis! Vote for Körner!" Such a trick poster may have won votes, but the open appeal to the Nazis whose friends were hanged in July 1934 for the murder of the dictator Dollfuss, to regard these criminals as fellow sufferers at the hands of the Clerico-Fascists with the Socialists, who were hanged for their armed defence of parliamentary democracy in February 1934, left an unpleasant taste in the mouths of most self-respecting Socialists.

The excessive zeal of a provincial Socialist branch to see Körner defeat Gleissner must not blind one to essential facts. These are that the Socialists originally asked the Clerical Volkspartei to renew for the second ballot campaign the "gentleman's agreement" to avoid personalities which had been reasonably enough observed in the first ballot; the Volkspartei refused. Instead, they at once dug out the "Zinovieff Letter" which had won them the parliamentary elections of 1949, the "*Rote Katze im Sack*" ("The Red Pig in the Poke").

Without one shadow of justification, the Volkspartei had produced right on the eve of that general election an eleventh-hour slogan, backed by posters, and by a gigantic marionette display immediately in front of the Socialist stronghold, the Vienna Rathaus. It showed a harmless-looking sack decorated with the Social-Democratic "Three Arrows" emblem, out of which (allegedly after the Elections) kept leaping a Communist red cat, marked with the hammer and sickle.

his was about as unscrupulous a piece of electoral propaganda as could be imagined. It was not the Socialists but the Catholic Chancellor, Dr. Figl, who had been discussing with the Communist leader, Ernst Fischer, how Austria could get better treatment from Russia. Socialist leaders like Oscar Helmer, the ailing but fearless Minister of the Interior, had for six years been travelling Sunday after Sunday—as they still do—into the heart of the Russian Zone, to denounce in fiery terms Russian Terror kidnapping, savagery and plundering. Yet it was Helmer's party which the Volkspartei pretended, against their own certain knowledge, to be the forerunner of Communism! The whole venom of the Communist Press is concentrated day after day against the Socialist leaders (above all against Pollak), while it simply pokes fun at the Volkspartei leaders. The unscrupulous tactics of the Volkspartei won them an easy majority in 1949. They tried it again in 1951. But the trick was now old, and the electors had realised how they had been swindled two years before. This time it was started too soon—three weeks before the second ballot—and the Socialists had ample time to demolish it. It was not a Social-Democrat, as they pointed out, who was covering up Communist savagery in Hungary. It was Istvan Tobi, leader of the Agrarians, roughly a sister party of the Austrian Volkspartei, who was still Premier of Communist Hungary. While their Catholic coalition partners circulated whispering propaganda mocking Körner's age—"Vote for Körner and another early State Funeral"—the Socialists got down to the record of Dr. Heinrich Gleissner, once Heimwehr-Fascist and member of the Fascist Government of Dollfuss, which was brought to power by Mussolini's money and Mussolini's arms. That was the Government which at his behest shut down Parliament, outlawed Socialism and hanged its leaders. The violence of the recent campaign is surely deplored in Western diplomatic circles, which insist that the Austrian Socialists must forget their past sufferings at the hands of the Volkspartei's predecessors if Communism is to be defeated.

The Socialists have schooled themselves for six years into ignoring the events of 13-17 years ago. But just round the corner from my house is the Münichreiterstrasse. It was named in 1945 after Karl Münichreiter. I saw him in February 1934, after he had unsuccessfully defended democracy against Dollfuss' counter-revolution, put before a Dollfuss-Fascist court. He was carried in on a stretcher, wounded in a dozen places, and sentenced to death. They took him on his stretcher three hours later to the execution courtyard, held him up while the noose was slid round his neck and left him swinging. That is one thing the Socialists have tried to forget.

One of the Socialist Members of Parliament to-day is Paula Wallisch, widow of Koloman Wallisch, Mayor of Bruck-an-der-Mur. After the British Minister to Vienna, Sir Walford Selby, had extracted from Dictator Dollfuss a promise that no more Socialists would be hanged in Vienna, his Mussolini-backed Heimwehr caught Wallisch fleeing through the mountains—and hanged him in Styria. That is another bitter memory which the recent electoral campaign has revived. Since 1945, Catholics and Socialists have been forced to find a *modus vivendi*

to defend together the country they both love against the menace from the East, and from the Austrian Communists, who, of course, love Russia but have no feeling for their own country.

The 1934-1938 hatchet has remained buried for six years. Not the Socialists but their opponents took the first steps to dig it up. It will not easily be buried again. That some provincial Socialist leaders should degrade their cause to such an extent that they call on the Nazis as "*Schicksalsgenossen*"—fellow-sufferers—in a vote-catching poster is certainly deplorable. But it is not important. The Volkspartei finds it difficult to denounce this lapse, since they are the last to wish to recall that what it says is true: their party (under another name) did in 1934 hang Austrian Socialists in February and Austrian Nazis in July. And the aim of all their propaganda is to induce the Nazis to overlook this point, and give them their votes against the Socialists.

Of course both the Communists and the neo-Nazis of the V.D.U. (Union of Independents) are vociferously suggesting to the Socialists that the election of Körner could not have been secured without their help. The commotion they are raising will not help either of them to get the least concession out of the Socialists. The candidates of both the extreme Right and the extreme Left were overwhelmingly defeated in the first ballot, and could only have thrown away good money after bad had they tried again. The Communists, as always, could not induce more than 5 per cent. of the population to support them. The V.D.U. increased their support from 11 per cent. in 1949 to 15.4 per cent. this year. This does not necessarily or even probably mean a revival of Nazism in Austria. "Political Catholicism," to use a useful though unfortunately an Hitlerian expression, tries to establish a monopoly of the non-Socialist vote in Austria. But not everyone who cannot accept Social-Democracy needs to be a Clerico-Fascist, a Clericalist, or even a Catholic. Many quite decent citizens—Protestants and agrarians, for example—dislike voting as the Catholic priests demands quite as much as they dislike backing trade unionism and "fair shares for all." For them the only outlet is the V.D.U. Probably half its supporters are neo-Nazis, the others anti-Clericalists, disgruntled Volkspartei members and so forth.

There is no real basis for the concern which has been expressed in some quarters abroad concerning the result of the Austrian Presidential Election. It arises largely out of lack of understanding of the second ballot. How, it is asked, could the Socialist candidate in three weeks turn a deficiency of 42,500 votes into a majority of 168,500? What price did the Socialists have to pay Communists or neo-Nazis to get this result? This answer is, of course, nothing at all. Hopelessly defeated candidates have always stood down after the first round and left the field free for the two principal opponents to fight it out. Some 882,500 voters (220,000 Communists and 662,000 V.D.U. Right wingers) had this time no candidate of their own to vote for. More than half these leaderless voters apparently voted for Körner; the others voted for Gleissner, handed in spoiled or blank papers, or failed to vote. Whatever orders the Communists gave, Körner's enormous personal

popularity would have led at least 50,000 Communists to vote for him. Knowing this, the Communist leaders publicly announced that they supported Körner, thus losing him, it is estimated, some 50,000 nervous middle-class backers. The defeated V.D.U. candidate, Breitner, left his followers free to vote as they pleased. But Kraus, head of the V.D.U., urged them to vote for Gleissner. Apparently the party split pretty well in half, the Nazi elements voting for the Volkspartei, and the anti-Clericalist and disgruntled Volkspartei elements for Körner. Many thousands of middle-class voters, disgusted at the scurrilous nature of much of the Volkspartei's campaign, certainly deserted their natural party to back Körner. Internationally dangerous as the break-up of the uneasy Austrian coalition would be, its temporary dissolution during the Presidential fight is on the whole a healthy symptom. Large numbers of Austrian workers, often bewildered during the last few years at the spectacle of their most trusted leaders co-operating with one Government with those who so few years ago were associated with the suppression of Parliament and the Socialist Party by force of arms, now have it brought home to them that this limited co-operation was forced on them by the peril from the East. The simple Catholic peasantry, confused by seeing their leaders becoming colleagues of the unbelieving "Vienna Socialists, are reassured by seeing that the two can yet join issue, if need be, despite the need for a united front against the East. And to this writer, who is convinced by long experience in Central Europe that only Social-Democracy, with its policy of gradual adjustment of archaic inequalities, and not Conservatism, with its clinging to ancient privileges which have long lost all hopes of revival, can save this area from submersion in the Russian flood, this political clash in Austria, despite its regrettable features, is a healthy sign of a vigorous democracy.

The Socialists are under no obligation to extreme Left or extreme Right. When the Communists announced they would back Körner, they ostentatiously said that they did this to establish "working-class unity," and expressed their unaltered hostility to the Socialist leadership. The Socialists banned any common campaigning or any kind of association with the Communists, and excluded them from every celebration of the great Socialist victory. A great victory it was, however much General Körner may personally deplore it. The long record of the Catholic Party in always getting a majority over the Socialists has been broken, and that at a time when the "Third Force" is almost everywhere losing ground. It does not, of course, necessarily mean that the Socialists could get a majority at new General Elections, nor make them the senior partner in the Coalition, for at a General Election, V.D.U. and the Communists would vote for their own candidates. But it does mean that they can demand more say in the present Coalition, in view of the backing Körner got from the population generally.

Of course the Communists are trying to make capital out of the results and are proclaiming "No longer a Volkspartei Chancellor!" This is meaningless and silly. The Volkspartei's parliamentary majority is unchanged and naturally they will continue to provide the Chan-

cellor. Whether the office will continue to be filled by Dr. Leopold Figl is questionable. Rightly or wrongly, many of the influential politicians of his party hold him in some measure responsible for the defeat. The tendency is to claim that co-operation with the Socialists made Conservative voters apathetic, and to demand that the Volkspartei move still more to the Right. It would not be surprising to see all this resulting in the replacement in a few months of Dr. Figl by Dr. Gleissner himself. Obviously a Volkspartei move to the Right would increase the existing danger of a break-up of the coalition. This it is Körner's first task to avert. This one-time brilliant staff officer of the Habsburg Imperial force, who has been three times imprisoned by dictators for his stubborn adherence to democratic principles, is the right man to tackle the problem. He has certainly all the necessary qualifications to convince those who attacked and voted against him that, as Federal President, he knows no party, and will serve these recent opponents as faithfully as he will his supporters.

Vienna.

G. E. R. GEDYE.

RUSSIA IN EASTERN GERMANY

WHEN the Russians took control of the part of Germany now known as the eastern zone they were quite clear as to what they wanted to achieve. The country was to be "processed" until it was ready to be incorporated in the communist eastern bloc and was to be used simultaneously as a bridgehead for getting possession of the western zones. This double objective has been pursued for six years with a persistence that has never wavered and thus constitutes an object lesson in Russian methods which has not been surpassed either in the Far East or elsewhere. And although eastern Germany is behind the iron curtain it is near enough geographically for western observers to be able to penetrate many of its secrets. Berlin is still a loop-hole that the Russians have not been able to close and whose existence they continue to resent. Into the "outpost of democracy" that the western sectors of the city represent comes a constant stream of refugees whose life or liberty is in danger in the eastern zone and who have much to tell about conditions there. In addition to this the eastern sector of Berlin is still open to all who care to take the risk—which in the case of politicians, journalists and all engaged in any form of public work is considerable—of never returning. Theatres, cinemas, the State-owned stores and the House of Soviet Culture may all be visited, and the whole atmosphere of what the communists are pleased to call "people's democracy" may be sensed.

Since the beginning of the occupation the eastern zone has been concentrating its energies—has been made to concentrate them would be more accurate—on one scheme after another for remodelling its political, economic and cultural life on Soviet lines. In the early part of this year it embarked on the greatest project of all—a Five Year Plan that was not only to transform eastern Germany from a mainly agricultural to an industrial country but was to bring the whole of it

middle classes and its artistic and technical intelligentsia into the communist orbit and fasten a communist grip on every aspect of the life of the people. The plan includes a scheme for schools and a scheme for universities, a scheme for art and science and sport. From the age of six, when they are coaxed or cajoled into the Young Pioneers, the people of eastern Germany are intended to cease to be individuals and to engage in no activity that is not controlled by the State and directed towards its ends.

The nature of the party hold on the educational system of the eastern zone is illustrated by the experiences of a schoolmaster who fled to Berlin from a town in Brandenburg. A group of senior pupils had complained that his teaching of "current affairs" was not in accordance with the principles of the blue-shirted Youth Movement to which they belonged. The teacher was summoned before the school authorities and questioned for three hours continuously on his attitude to friendship with Russia, the current "peace campaign," and the aims of the Five Year Plan. He knew himself to be in a difficult position and, as he admitted to me, he had been from the beginning trying to compromise with his conscience. He had been intentionally watering down the party doctrine to a point where—without, as he hoped, endangering himself—he would do the least possible harm to his pupils. No threats were made to the teacher and no apparent decisions reached by the examining committee, but knowing the ways of the party, knowing above all that other schoolmasters had disappeared in similar circumstances and never been heard of again, he had taken advantage of the fact that he had no family who could be made to suffer and had made his way to Berlin.

"Current Affairs" lessons are a principal medium for teaching the young people of eastern Germany that Stalin is the greatest friend of their country and the greatest defender of peace against the imperialist warmongering of the Americans, and essays are set on such subjects as "The Great Victory" by which is meant the election result of last October. A nine-year-old boy wrote under this heading in an exercise book that has come into my possession: "The election showed that the people of the German Democratic Republic want peace and not the war the Americans are preparing. The Americans want war because they make less money by peace than by war. After the election the Five Year Plan will be made law and that will stop the Americans making war." Under the essay itself was written in capitals and underlined, "Long live Stalin the great peacemaker."

Progress to the higher schools and technical institutes and universities of eastern Germany is dependent on two things—on the parentage of the children, which should be working class, and on membership of the Youth Movement. Middle-class children who fulfil the second of these two conditions still have some prospect of higher education, but those who have resisted pressure of the Blue Shirts have virtually no chance at all. Even so the lot of the fifteen per cent. or so middle-class university students who remain is a hard one. While party and Youth Movement members get grants up to 300 and 400 marks a

month—the salary of a medium-rank civil servant—their despised fellow students live in poverty and under the constant watch of the highly efficient party-informer system. Since November 1948, when Wolfgang Natonek, chairman of the students' council of Leipzig University, was sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment for holding western ideas or for "opposing progress in eastern Germany" as the communists put it, no middle-class student there has felt safe. Twenty of Natonek's friends followed him within a few weeks into prison and some hundreds of others have since disappeared. Still more come over to the west and in Berlin alone they now make up to nearly half of the 6,000 students in the Free University. Their poverty continues, for the impoverished city authorities can allow them only seven pounds a month; but their studies are free and there are no secret police.

The communists regard the existing generation of workers and all the young people now leaving their schools and universities as theirs as of right, but they know that they have a harder task in trying to win over the adult middle classes and intelligentsia. So they have retained, if only in a puppet form, the old Christian Democratic and Liberal Democratic parties, and they are devoting a special effort to converting what are called—in the grandiloquent language that seems to be inseparable from totalitarian propaganda—the "culture creating" classes. Under the Ministry for People's Culture separate departments have been created for literature, painting and sculpture, for music, theatre and films. From these offices directions are issued as precise as for a military campaign, and there is no hope and no livelihood for an artist, writer or composer who does not conform to them. In this way, "culture" as much as everything else in the eastern zone has been turned into an instrument of politics. Its function, as expressed by the President of the "Democratic Republic" Wilhelm Pieck, is to "strengthen the progressive will of the people and to assist them in building up a new democracy." This pronouncement was supplemented at one of the innumerable east German "cultural congresses" by an injunction to the assembled artists to "make their art a weapon against the remilitarisation of western Germany." What all this amounts to in practice can be seen in eastern Berlin. The mass of painting constantly exhibited there in the interests of the "peace campaign" represents idealised and romanticised young men and women in the dress of workers, advancing with glowing faces towards what is presumably meant to be taken as a glorious communist future. Of the hardship and peril in the life of a miner or steel worker there is no hint, and when criticism appears at all it is of the other side. A piece of statuary by the "national-prize crowned" sculptor, Cremer, represents an American soldier with a skull in place of a head. It is called "Angel of Annunciation."

On the stage and screen and in music and literature the same influences are at work; nothing must be performed, written or composed that does not play its part in conditioning people to communism. A Russian film shown in east Berlin represented the British authorities in western Germany as preventing the return home of displaced Russian children and of brutally ill-treating them when they tried to

ape. It was well produced, and an audience cut off from the west could not have been blamed for accepting it as true. Stage productions flown from all the eastern satellite countries are often technically and artistically above the average west Berlin level, but they must be communist in tendency. Even from the classics only those pieces are chosen that in some sense suit the party line. Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* is one favourite, Smetana's *Bartered Bride* another. If the moral does not appear clearly enough in the piece itself it is then pointed in specially written epilogue.

Bookshops display eight-volume editions of the works of Stalin, *Notes of Lenin* and *Das Kapital*, and make clear to the workers and peasants of eastern Germany that it is their duty to read them. For the rest there are cheap editions of Russian classics, the reprinted speeches of the party leaders, and the books of approved east German writers. As chief of these and head of the east German Chamber of Culture, Johannes Becher has stated publicly that western literature is not, as the western Press maintains, banned in eastern Germany. The reason for the absence of T. S. Eliot, Graham Greene, Sartre and Kafka from our bookstalls," he said, "is simply that no one wants to read them: they have nothing to say to us."

The economic system that carries this varied superstructure was the first object of Russian attention in 1945. All landed estates above 50 acres were expropriated without compensation to the "Junker" owners and parcelled out among the "peasants now freed from oppression." Industry was progressively organised either into directly Russian-controlled concerns working on reparations demands or—the same methods of uncompensated expropriation as were applied to land—into "people's own" undertakings. Seventy-five per cent. of the industry of the zone has in this way passed into the hands of the State, and such private business as remains is being suppressed by other means. Essential State-controlled supplies are withheld until they are forced into liquidation. Retail trade is a particular example of the thoroughness with which this system has been enforced. The visitor to eastern Berlin finds it hard to discover a privately owned shop, and sees instead in every street the HO sign that indicates a State-owned *Handelsorganisation* store. There is not a restaurant, café, or on "demonstration" days a street refreshment stall that has not been brought into the scheme. One result of the system is the uniformity in the appearance of the east German people which is the outward equivalent of the standardisation that the party is trying to impose on their minds. Their clothes originate from the same State-controlled sources that try to regulate their thoughts.

Though a country organised as on communist lines and equipped with such a secret police force as the eastern zone possesses can command outward obedience, the extent to which the communist authorities are succeeding in their effort to control the mind of the east German people remains the principal key to the question of whether the Russians are achieving their objectives. The question is difficult to answer, for in the absence of free elections western observers can only estimate by such less satisfactory means as are available to them the

state of opinion in the eastern zone. The evidence that reaches western Germany (and above all, Berlin) is, however, carefully scrutinised before being used as the basis of conclusions. It suggests that the youth of eastern Germany is in very great danger of being permanently corrupted by the Blue Shirt movement, and that if the present division of Germany lasts until the young people now at schools and universities come to maturity and power, reunion on western lines will be made very difficult. The adults of the eastern zone, on the other hand, are almost untouched by the systematic indoctrination they have endured, and probably not more than five per cent. of them are genuine communists. Yet the majority that remain are subject to the danger of the resignation and despair indicated in a letter that has reached Berlin (through other channels than the post) from Leipzig. "For six years we have been exposed to a terror, to a mental bullying process, and too to a barrage of propaganda intended to turn us into the regimented masses that the communists need for their purposes. The number of the converted is minute, but it is their danger that they spread among the rest of us the fear and mistrust that has become characteristic of our whole existence and breeds the demoralisation upon which the communists depend for their power. . . ." The need for concern in the west is evidently real, since the letter makes clear that the Russians have made some progress towards their objectives. But that they have not reached them is shown by its later passages. "East of the Elbe stands an army that is silent and weaponless but which could be organised into a great power. Passive resistance needs to give way to action among a people that must learn from the communists themselves that they have nothing to lose but their chains."

No one in the west would at present take the writer of the letter at his word and encourage active resistance and sabotage in the eastern zone. The results would be too slight compared with the losses that would be suffered. There is still time for the diplomats and negotiators. But—with their thoughts on the communist Youth Movement—the west must realise that the time is not unlimited.

Berlin.

REGINALD PECK.

THE ARAB LEAGUE AND WORLD POLITICS

THE Arab League was born in the year of Germany's defeat into a world which was mounting the "sunny uplands" of international harmony. The seven founder members signed a covenant which stated that the primary object of the League was to strengthen the ties of brotherhood and to co-operate for the furtherance of Arab interests, in particular the liberation of their brethren still under foreign domination. Six years later the League finds itself face to face with the problem, far beyond the scope of its original programme of deciding between neutrality or partisanship in the conflict between East and West.

The foreign policy of the League has so far been based on the narrow

interests of Arab nationalism. Of the four Great Powers concerned with the Middle East, Britain and France, by reason of their political commitments, are the chief targets for attack. Britain draws the fire of the League as a whole, which she did so much to create, but of individual members. Egypt nurses a sense of grievance at the continued presence of British troops and military installations in the Canal Zone and at the alleged British stranglehold on the Sudan. Iraq demonstrated its hostility towards the Portsmouth Treaty of 1948 by refusing ratification and overthrowing the Government responsible for its negotiation. France, on the other hand, as the only Great Power exercising direct rule over Arab States, faces a barrage of formal criticism from the League itself. The stock of France in the Middle East fell very low owing to her unwillingness to surrender her mandate in Syria and the Lebanon, culminating in the bombing of Damascus. Relations between France and the League became further embittered when Egypt granted asylum to the Moroccan rebel leader, Abdel Krim. The League is resolute in its determination to free the North African peoples from French subjugation, and delivered a strong protest over the recent French rebuff to the Sultan of Morocco in the form of a note to the French Government, urging that the Moroccan people be permitted to realise the national aspiration for independence.

The other two Great Powers, America and Russia, have at present no political commitments in the Middle East, but Arab leaders discern in their actions nineteenth-century imperialism in modern dress. America, whose first contact with the Arab world was as a nation of teachers and philanthropists, is now suspect for her championship of Zionism and her interests in Saudi Arabian oil. But however much the Arab League dislikes American economic imperialism there are not wanting statesmen who recognise in it a safeguard against Russian political penetration. There was a period shortly after the war when Russia appeared bent on having a finger in the Middle East political pie. She agitated for the trusteeship of the ex-Italian colonies in North Africa and interfered in the internal affairs of Persia. But on the re-entry of America into the Middle East scene after her temporary withdrawal at the end of hostilities Russia abandoned direct political interference and concentrated on intensive Communist propaganda. This is emanates from the Soviet Legation in Beirut and seeps through every country of the Middle East where great disparity of wealth offers an ideal breeding ground for Communist doctrines. So far it has had more effect on the young effendi and the industrial worker than on the scholar. It has also persuaded the more thoughtful members of governing circles that in the face of this insidious threat from the north Arab foreign policy needs to undergo a complete re-orientation and to be founded upon a wider base than the narrow limits of Arab nationalism.

The crisis of the Arab League occurred with the defeat of the Arab armies by Israel in the war of 1948-49. Heralded by a fanfare of undiose propaganda, Arab troops, in defiance of the United Nations, crossed the frontiers of Palestine in the early hours of May 15th, 1948. Less than eight months later Israeli forces crossed the Egyptian

frontier. A few days later a truce was signed between the two countries which was broadened into an armistice. With Egypt out of the running the other Arab States, whatever their inclinations, had no option but to make similar arrangements and the war was over before the end of January 1949. This failure of the League's first major enterprise brought loose a flood of self-criticism which bid fair to carry away the whole precarious structure. It exposed to the world at large the disunity amongst Arab leaders and their military impotence. There was a tendency in United Nations circles to write off the Arab League as an ineffective regional security bloc in the Middle East. Had not the League acted in defiance of the United Nations in going to war with Israel, the creation of the United Nations?

It cannot be said that in the months following the Palestine debacle the League's leaders did much to reinstate it in the eyes of the world. Internal strains and stresses were taxing their ingenuity to the full. Self-recrimination, a totally new phenomenon in the Arab world, appeared in the shape of a most remarkable little book called *The Lesson of Palestine*, published in Beirut in the spring of 1949. Its author, Musa Alami, a prominent Palestinian Arab and a graduate of Cambridge, gives frank reasons for the failure of the Arab effort. He criticises the Arabs for their incapacity to wage war on modern lines with a central command and a concerted aim. He traces it not to a lack of natural resources or courage but to defects inherent in the political and economic structure of the Arab States. In conclusion he proposes a series of reforms which aim at rousing the Arabs everywhere to a sense of their own responsibilities to the State and the State's responsibilities to them. Nowhere in the book is there any suggestion that it was impolitic of the Arabs to defy world opinion in the interests of Arab nationalism. So, too, in the maintenance of the economic boycott against Israel Egypt is prepared to flout world opinion and international law by holding up Israeli-bound cargoes in the Suez Canal.

The Arab League had a golden chance to re-establish its waning prestige abroad when the United Nations was faced with the crisis in Korea. In view of the menace of Communism in the Middle East and the outlawing of Communist Parties in almost every Arab country, it might have been thought that the League would have given unqualified support to the United Nations. But such was not the case. Egypt, doubtless with the intention of giving the League a lead, was quick to announce her neutrality and her refusal to support the Security Council's resolution on Korea. On the other hand Iraq and even Yemen were equally quick to endorse the action taken by the Security Council, with the result that the League presented a most disunited front. It was later to repair this by the stand taken at Lake Success with other Asian countries as intermediaries between Peking and the United Nations. In general the League's leaders have declared their good will towards the United Nations in their efforts to resist aggression. But more active participation would involve virtual recognition of Israel, a step highly desirable for the prosperity of the Middle East but unhappily beyond the contemplation of the Arab League at present.

The first sign of saner counsels in the League's foreign policy came

meeting of the Council in January of this year. A *communiqué* declared that the Arab States wished to re-emphasise their solid support the cause of world peace and international security and their faith the principles of the United Nations Organisation. It pointed out at the Arab League, established in the nerve centre of the Middle East, was making a special appeal to all States and all peoples to realise the seriousness of the situation and to spare no possible effort to overcome without danger the present international crisis. But it further emphasised that the Arab States would be unable to fulfil the obligations imposed by the Charter on all nations until their national rights had been realised and unless they were supplied with the military and economic means necessary for their defence.

This declaration suggests that the League is now prepared to be influenced by the demands of the international crisis as well as of Arab nationalism in its dealings with the West. No longer is it thinking mainly in the terms of an Arab Collective Security Pact for the defence of its members. Clearly it has abandoned its attitude of aloofness from the cold war and has ranged itself alongside the democracies. In the mounting crisis no other course was feasible. Of the alternatives, neutrality or the Communist camp, no Arab Government can support a system which aims at the destruction of its ruling classes, while neutrality would be a fools' paradise. Egypt, in the comparative security of the Nile Valley, may agitate for the evacuation of British troops from the Canal Zone, but Iraq and Syria are well aware that they lie less than an hour's flying time from Russian aerodromes.

But in spite of this change of attitude the Arab League is still far from ready for open support of the democracies. In the first place its members are militarily and economically weak and will require prompt help from the West before they can play an effective role against Communism. Secondly there is smouldering resentment against Britain and especially against America for their support of Israel, now firmly attached to the Western camp (and no Arab is yet disposed to march shoulder to shoulder with so recent a foe). Thirdly, most Arab States have personal grievances, Egypt against Britain, Syria and the Lebanon against France, which are long standing and cannot easily be put aside.

Rather is it to the credit of Arab statesmen that in the face of intensive Communist propaganda and a hostile public opinion they have adopted a more realistic attitude than ever before, and have rejected neutrality as a dangerous and indefensible policy in the light of Arab military and economic weakness. At the January meeting of the Arab League Council statements made by the Iraqi Prime Minister and the Egyptian Foreign Minister revealed that responsible opinion in the Arab League has no illusions about the gravity of the menace threatening the Middle East. The former said that if war broke out between the Eastern and Western blocs its first theatre would be Germany, the second Persia and Turkey, and from there the war would extend to Iraq, Syria and the other Arab States. He stressed that time was too short for the Arab States not to take a definite decision on their attitude, and added that in spite of the extensive preparations made by the

Western Powers the Arab States had not yet taken any reliable positive steps.

There is no area of the world where a policy of neutrality would be more desirable than the Middle East, which requires a generation of peace for the development of its resources and the betterment of its peoples. But the misfortunes of geography overrule so urgent a need. Its strategic position as the land bridge linking three continents, the presence of an international waterway linking the two hemispheres, and the vast and largely untapped oil supplies combine to give it a role of international importance; and in a world unhappily divided into two camps the whole area lives in danger of becoming a cockpit for Great Power rivalry. The citizens of the Middle East, the majority of them illiterate and on the borderline of starvation, can be forgiven for their unwillingness to appreciate the dictates of geography. In such circumstances it is no easy task for their leaders to align themselves with the democracies in support of policies which, so the mass contend, are little concern of theirs and certainly not worth the risk of plunging the area into conflict. Hence it is the responsibility of the Western Powers and of Britain in particular, by virtue of her lengthy experience of Middle East politics and her special interests in this area, to welcome this new and revolutionary approach by removing the deeply ingrained suspicion that any Western and particularly British activity in the Middle East is "imperialism" in some guise or other. Of primary importance because of her influence in Arab counsels, is the settlement of outstanding problems with Egypt.

It is to be earnestly hoped that the national rivalries and dynastic feuds which have lowered the prestige of the League in the eyes of the world will recede into the background in the face of growing international dangers. Then, and only then, will the League be able, with the military and economic assistance of the democracies, to fulfil its role of regional security bloc in the Middle East. It is also to be hoped that the international situation and the needs of a united front in Middle East defence will reconcile the League to the existence and importance of Israel. Once this difficulty is surmounted the Arab League could be integrated within a Middle East Pact, to include Turkey, Israel, Persia and perhaps Pakistan, and which would play a vital part within the United Nations Organisation towards ensuring the peace of the world.

MICHAEL PERRETT.

THE LAKE OF GENEVA

FEW regions of the earth offer so much to a traveller of taste as the Lake of Geneva. After the Rhône enters it, it provides almost at once the most famous view in Switzerland, that of Chillon backed by the Dents du Midi; and a little farther up the river is one more picturesque still, that of the château of Aigle against the Savoy Alps. Montreux has the dry bright climate of the Riviera with agreeable views which are an epitome of the combination of lake and mountains. But to these Turner when he arrived in 1839 to paint at his best

referred the views which incorporated the Cathedral of Lausanne against the heights of Savoy or as seen from Le Signal above the shadows of the valley beside it. Geneva has in its views of Mont Blanc from the Gare de Cornavin or the street which leads down from it to the Rhône the glory of its clearest days ; but, as Turner showed, the Jura has also its beauty and who that knows this lake can forget the ultramarine of its water or the butterfly sails of its boats ? But both Geneva and Lausanne add to their views and their architecture a certain *cachet* of elegance like the fine distinction of the spoken French which they share with Neuchâtel. They have the style and the shops which witness their close connection with the world of fashion. Hardly one of France's own provincial towns has quite such a Parisian *chic* as these. Geneva, said Ruskin, is the loveliest spot and the most notable in the European universe. From its centre within an hour of travel are cities, châteaux, Alpine views and climate all beautified by a crescent lake dyed with the blue of southern sky ; and over all are the cleanliness, the order, the comfort and the solid well-being which give the newcomer at once the feeling that he is in Switzerland.

All these *agréments*, including the warmth which summer sunshine adds to them, not least, as Turner noted, when the sun sinks at evening, are enhanced by their connection with distinguished names. It was at Lausanne, or rather below it at Ouchy, that Gibbon finished *The Decline and Fall*. It was when Shelley was sailing along the lake with Byron that he wrote his first great poem, the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*. It was here that Byron himself wrote the finest canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* before he had written *The Prisoner of Chillon*. It was near Geneva that Voltaire found his asylum at Ferney, and for the lake in general we find the keenest admiration in the letters of Goethe. Nor is this all. The region is enriched with the monuments and memorials which invite us to enjoy the genius of the Swiss themselves. Apart from the two fine Gothic cathedrals, Chillon is but one reminder of that gift which the Swiss share with the Italians beyond the Alps of marking and enhancing the beauties of nature by so building that architecture and scenery can take the fullest advantage of one another. Few buildings in Switzerland are more attractive than the Château de la Grange at Geneva, more impressive than Vufflens or Champvent above it ; and there is many a fine old palace in the streets of Geneva, as Jenny reminds us in his *Kunstführer für die Schweiz*, from which Mr. John Russell learnt so much to put into his *Switzerland*. And of these none is finer than the inner court of the College where Calvin gave his lectures.

Neither Mr. Russell nor Jenny, however, mentions Swiss painters or sculptors : but at Vevey, as well as Lausanne, there are good collections of Calame, Diday, Meuron and other Swiss painters of the nineteenth century. And Geneva has in its *Musée d'Arts et de Sciences* a collection of Swiss painters so different as the aristocratic Liotard, and the robust defiant Hodler, who is represented going farther and farther into the violence of a certain popular phase of modern art. The same museum has a famous nude by Corot, a beautiful Christ of the fourteenth century, and a Venus by Praxiteles. But nothing in it is finer than the

portraits of him who displaces Calvin as Geneva's greatest man, Jean Jacques Rousseau. One portrait is carved by Houdon, one painted by Maurice-Quentin de Latour. It is good cause for pride that in the course of a single century Geneva produced five names so great in the world of letters as Rousseau, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, Vinet and Amiël. What province in England, France or Germany could rival that record? Each and all of these writers have something special to tell us of the spirit of Switzerland in general, and of the Lake of Geneva in particular.

Rousseau was accepted in France, and in Europe, as a revolutionary coming from nowhere and apart from any movement, but, as Madame de Gonzague de Regnold has pointed out, he is the apostle of Switzerland. It is the Constitution of Geneva which he idealises in the *Contrat Social* and it is the Swiss love of their simple life and of their country's scenery which explains his passion for nature. It had been found already in Gessner, in Haller, and in Bonstetten. Locke, it is true, had foreseen the ideals of *Émile*, but Bodmer and his circle shared them. Balthasar brought out in 1758 his *Plan d'une Académie de la Raison et du Cœur* and in the Institutes of Holdenstein, Martin Planta and Ulysse de Salis had embodied the same idea in the Grisons. Fellenberg and Girard drew their ideas not only from him but from their native air. Rousseau in fact is an embodiment of certain traditional elements of the spirit of Switzerland. The *Contrat Social* is an essay in support of the *Volonté Générale*. *Julie* and *Émile*, though in the form of novels, are romantic essays on the splendour of human nature and the passion of love or on unconstricted education, while the *Rêveries d'un Promeneur Solitaire* and the *Confessions* are reflections interspersed with autobiography. But just as *Julie* lives at Clarens, so all are connected with the Lake of Geneva. Each book argues for freedom; in each there are brilliant descriptions of scenery and of bathing, and in each Rousseau makes an appeal against convention in favour of nature in its double sense of wild beauty and of instinct in human life. Everywhere he embodies the spirit of the region in which he was born. He shows how it all reacted against the rigidity of Calvin and, feeling how nobly nature works to the ennobling instinct, found inspiration in the wildness and beauty of the complex visible world of valley and mountain, of river and lake.

In Benjamin Constant and Madame de Staël we see the subject carried further. This is the subject of Mr. Harold Nicolson's latest portrait. It is no secret that *Adolphe* is the real story of the amour between the two famous writers, and of Constant's own struggle between the claims of a woman with whom he has become entangled and all that a woman's love—once given and accepted—has a right to claim against the demands made by his family, his duty and his career. It is the romance of not only love but conscience: and is redeemed from every taint of sordidness by a delicacy of feeling which leads not only to acceptance of suffering but to understanding and sympathy. It shows in the drama of one irregular relationship that sense of responsibility which has supported so much of the life of Switzerland in relation to the sufferings of others, even when those sufferings are due not to avalanches but to the stupidity of politicians and the crimes of war.

and which has set up not only the Red Cross at Geneva but benevolent institutions over the whole country.

If Geneva bears the imprint of France, Madame de Staël was a woman of Geneva than of Paris where she was born, where her parents lived, and where her first husband was Swedish Ambassador. But her name and her relation to Constant are linked forever with her house at Coppet. Her first work was an appreciation of Rousseau; this was followed by an essay on the influence of the passions which goes with *Delphie* as a memorial of her relation with Constant. It was followed by two novels, *Delphine* and *Corinne*, and they in turn by her essay *De L'Allemagne*. But before she had written a word, she had become famous for her wit. Napoleon said that she carried "a quiver of arrows that would hit a man were he seated on a rainbow." To that aptitude or power which is the appanage of enormous wealth she added the gifts of repartee. Byron, when he first saw her, compared her to an avalanche with sophistry in its snow. Others called her a whirlwind. She made of Coppet a citadel and startled her entourage by an incessant display of intellectual fireworks, interspersed with *amours* which were a necessity of her nature. Finally she married a young man half her age—but secretly, which added to the scandal. Yet when all is said, Madame de Staël has commanded more attention than any of her countrywomen. She represents the Swiss in her instinct for freedom, her high vitality and her sincerity. Nothing in her books is more important than the personality of the authoress, who identifies her heroines with herself. Animation, with her, took the place of beauty; her excitability was her power. There was no fineness in her features, and her face when in repose had a look of languor. But at a spark she kindled; her eyes flashed before she spoke, like lightning before thunder; then gesture and attitude added drama to her utterance and she seemed the personification of both energy and emotion. She could feel intensely. "Never," she said, "have I been loved as I love others." Eager thoughts and passions poured from her with generous impulses of enthusiasm; and Benjamin Constant, on receiving a letter from her, described it as moving chaos and shaking the universe—she held his attention "like a beautiful storm." And another has compared her to a whirlwind of fire outdoing the volcano. But she was to friends in distress both heart and helper, and Byron, recalling his last visit to her, called her "the best woman in the world." Schiller said of her that she united with the delicacy and finesse which are gained in the world of fashion the earnestness and depth of mind obtained by most only through being alone.

Another example of French finesse at Geneva is Vinet. He could write on French literature with the acumen of a Frenchman, and could at the same time write classics of Calvinist theology. But he is a cipher compared to Amiel. After six years in Germany Amiel came back to lecture on æsthetics and philosophy at Geneva for thirty years until his death in 1881, but he owed his post to the revolution of 1848 throwing out a professor of the old tradition. Amiel therefore came back as a protégé of the Revolution. This cut him off from the most cultivated society of Geneva, and produced in his sensitive conscience

a conflict which prevented him from writing anything much more than his diary which was published only after his death. This diary was spiritual document of greater value than any conventional believer produced in Switzerland's centuries. In it is heard a still voice speaking clear on the purest and most universal interests of the soul : of its need to escape from self, and to mingle with eternity, ignoring disappointment : of its need to seek holiness and to diffuse it, of the need for God to enter into the hearts as the air enters empty space : " Be humble, devout, silent so that thou mayest hear in the depths of thyself the subtle and profounder voice."

How much can one say this adds to one's appreciation of the Lake of Geneva ? Much, because it is a universal instinct of the soul and the Swiss have sought, like Amiel, to live and know rather than to triumph in artistic or other achievements. But though expressing acutely in universal terms the needs of the spiritual, Amiel sought also to solve the mysteries of life ; and he diagnosed early the danger to the mind in Swiss democracy. " The era of mediocrity is beginning, and mediocrity freezes every desire. Equality engenders uniformity, and to get rid of what is bad one sacrifices what is excellent, remarkable, extraordinary. Everything becomes less coarse, but everything is more vulgar."

He saw already just on a hundred years ago that the time of great men was passing and an age coming in which men would live as ants on an anthill. " By continual levelling and the division of labour, society will be everything and man will be nothing . . . things will be better, souls worse." He recognised, of course, that we must first banish the avoidable suffering which comes from social injustice before we come back to the treasures of the spirit, but he was uncertain whether in the economic and political equality to which democracy was already aspiring, and sometimes even then in a socialistic form, there was a sacred place of refuge where beauty, holiness, and enthusiasm would still be worshipped. It is a danger which strikes many if their stay in Switzerland is prolonged, and it was felt by Goethe, and before him by Joachim du Bellay. But Amiel speaks not only for the foreigner when he speaks of his distrust of the trend of democracy towards socialism. He voices a misgiving by no means uncommon. There are many Swiss, too, who like him are shy because they are too sensitive and because their conscience is too acute.

More than a hundred years has passed since Geneva had in the world of letters this golden century. The lake has been embellished by the growth of villages. Road and railroad bring far more to see it. There is about it an aspect of newness, as of a house freshly painted. As this aspect has become clear, another writer has arisen on the lake. He could paint the scene around him in a style as *naïf*, as vivid, as personal as that of Cézanne till it shines as brilliantly as flowers beside a lawn. But this writer, Ramuz, did not come from Geneva. He came from Cully, which is in the direction of Clarens. He himself felt his affinity with Cézanne. Both love the country around them, the one in the Valais where the Rhône arises, the other Provence through which it flows to the sea. In each there is a tough simple peasantry, intoxicated

with the open air, loving good wine, and yet never forgetting the gravity of life.

Before one thinks one must feel, said Ramuz, and to feel one must face reality : "*rien n'est beau qui ne soit d'abord habité par la vie*," and life is intercourse with realities outside us. He begins with the story of village *amours*, but soon he is looking into a preternatural world to find in the village the theatre of saint or devil. All his books abound in poetic descriptions, and give as eager an account of the Vaud and the Valais as Henry Bordeaux later gave of the Savoie on the other side of the mountains from the haunts of Ramuz. His peasants are a prey to suffering and to the tyranny of fate ; yet around their heads is the aureole of moral grandeur and they share in the splendour of the mountains. They belong, however, to a transcending order, and "the God of grace is a hidden God." But whether Ramuz really had a style is another matter. His words are thrown together like lumps of rock. His peasants do not speak so much as stammer. He has no more the spirit of Constant than Cézanne has that of Corot or of Calame.

Such then are a few of the cultural associations which the Swiss have added to the beautiful lake, praised by Goethe, celebrated by Byron, described in prose by Shelley, painted how many times by Turner, when he sought a change from Venice ; while his admirer Ruskin noticed in the Rhône as it leaves the lake the beauty of a lambent jewel—"a never-pausing plunge, a never-fading flash, a never-hushing whisper." In the Swiss and Italian lakes, ably conducted hotels have been combined with the offer of Europe's rarest interminglings of grandeur, of colour, with the addition of gardens, towns, and towers—of shelter, of verdure and sun, and reflections of glorious sky. But on the Lake of Geneva alone is the combined addition of three galleries and two cathedrals, several chateaux and the association of two such women as Madame de Warens at one end and Madame de Staël at the other—to say nothing of Clarens and *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

ROBERT SENCOURT.

FOUR FRENCH SALONS

III. JULIE DE LESPINASSE

JULIE DE LESPINASSE left the Convent of St. Joseph with mingled feelings. The dominant sentiment was one of relief at her escape from a position which had become intolerable. She had experienced a similar spiritual liberation when she fled from the Vichy household ten years earlier. At that time the offer of a post in Paris removed material anxieties : now she was confronted with the problem how she was to live, for she had little but her clothes. That her friends rallied round her is a tribute not merely to their generosity but to the affection she inspired in those who knew her best. She rented a small apartment in the Rue Dominique, only a hundred yards from her old address, which Hénault, Turgot and the Maréchale de Luxembourg helped her to furnish. But the *deus ex machina* was Mme Geoffrin. They had never met, but the quarrel was the talk of Paris, and d'Alembert

doubtless pleaded her cause. Mme Geoffrin sold three pictures by Van Loo to Catherine the Great and gave most of the proceeds to Julie. The impenitent rebel settled in with three maids and a valet, and gathered round her a circle which competed in distinction though not in numbers or hospitality with that of the Convent of St. Joseph. Since she had never kept accounts and possessed no sense of money, she needed guidance and found it in the quarter to which she had the best right to look.

D'Alembert's position in the social and intellectual life of Paris was unique. Since Voltaire felt compelled to leave his country no one was so generally in demand as the celebrated mathematician, Joint Editor of the *Encyclopédie*, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Member of the Académie française. His unblemished character inspired no less respect than his splendid intellect. Caring nothing for money, the honoured guest of Potsdam and St. Petersburg continued to live in a dark and unhealthy room at the home of his kindly working-class foster-parents who had brought him up. In the salon of Mme du Deffand he and Julie had learned to love each other, and the catastrophe brought them even closer together. When shortly after settling into her new home she was struck down by smallpox, the faithful friend paid her daily visits despite the risk of infection. Soon afterwards, when he in turn was dangerously ill, she nursed him back to life and persuaded him to move into a vacant room in her apartment house. Sharing their meals and their interests and invited out together, the two gifted illegitimates entered on the happiest period of their lives.

Those who did not know them not unnaturally believed that they lived together. "I have seen Mlle de Lespinasse, the mistress of d'Alembert, one of the most intelligent women in Paris," reported Hume, at that time on the staff of the British Embassy. He was mistaken, as any of their intimate circle could have told him. Why, then, did they not marry? The answer was supplied by d'Alembert himself. "What should I do with a wife and children? The person I am expected to marry is made to render a husband happy, but she deserves a better establishment than I can give her. There is no question of marriage or love but of mutual esteem and all the sweetness of friendship." The man who had been like a son to Mme Geoffrin and Mme du Deffand was like a brother to Julie de Lespinasse. Such a platonic partnership in eighteenth-century Paris seemed almost a miracle, but it was all that d'Alembert required. Though his appointment as Perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Sciences entitled him to apartments in the Louvre, he preferred to remain where he found companionship and peace. Julie, on the other hand, grateful though she was, wanted something more. She had surprised Mme du Deffand by the violence of her reaction when the Irish nobleman crossed her path, and before long she was to surprise d'Alembert.

His first task was to introduce his friend to Mme Geoffrin, who loved her from the start. Recognising her outstanding social and intellectual qualities, the hostess treated her as a daughter and admitted her—the only woman guest—to her Monday and Wednesday dinners. Before long she and d'Alembert were visiting her every day. Her daughter

ented such marked favours and complained that the newcomer was usurping her place. Had she spared a little more love for her mother, there would have been no vacuum to fill.

Julie's popularity in Mme Geoffrin's wide circle encouraged her to start a salon of her own. It was small, not only owing to lack of space but because it was the deliberate resolve of the hostess to keep her little court select. She possessed the gift of intimacy in a degree unapproached by any French *salonnière* of her time. "Mme Geoffrin was feared, Mme du Deffand admired, Mme Necker respected, Julie loved," declares the Marquis de Ségur, the best of her biographers. That she was a gifted talker and a lover of good literature was well known to the habitués of her late employer's salon, and now she had no longer to play second fiddle. The little drawing room was adorned by busts of d'Alembert and Voltaire and a portrait of Turgot. Grimm describes it as "*l'âme et le charme*" of the group. "After the first fortnight," reported La Harpe, "everyone wanted to tell her the story of their lives. No one had ever possessed so many friends, yet each was loved as if he or she were the only one."

Next to d'Alembert, Turgot, to whom France looked for financial salvation, was the chief ornament. "I know only one pleasure, one interest—friendship," she declared. "I exist only to love and cherish my friends." No other *salonnière* could have written such words without a slight taint of insincerity. Though women were admitted, with none of them was she very intimate. Anything but "a man's woman," she appealed to refined intellectuals precisely because she was so intensely feminine. The routine of the salon was much the same as that of Mme du Deffand, though she could not afford suppers or wine. Except on Sundays and Wednesdays, when she and d'Alembert dined with Mme Geoffrin, she was at home every evening. There was less formality than with Mme Geoffrin and a warmer atmosphere than at the Convent of St. Joseph. The undying resentment of her late employer kept a few English visitors away, as we learn from a letter of Horace Walpole to his beloved cousin Henry Conway, statesman and soldier, on the eve of a journey to Paris in 1774. The young hostess is described as "a pretended *bel esprit* who was formerly a humble companion of Mme du Deffand and betrayed her and used her very ill. I beg you not let anyone carry you thither. It would disoblige my friend of all things in the world. She has done everything on earth to please and serve me. Bewell upon it because she has some enemies so spiteful that they try to carry all English to Mlle de Lespinasse." But there were plenty of others only too eager to be enrolled among her guests.

Like the other *salonnières* Julie welcomed diplomatists and visitors from many lands. Creutz, the gifted Swedish Ambassador, was as happy in Paris drawing-rooms as at Court. Abbé Galiani, the Little Neapolitan, gave rein to his droll fancies more freely than in the circle of Mme Geoffrin or Mme du Deffand. Since Anglomania was at its height, British aristocrats and intellectuals were lionised in all the salons. Translations of *Tristram Shandy*, *Clarissa* and Hume's *History of England* were eagerly read. None of the leading *salonnières* showed so much interest in British politics, for Julie believed in limited monarchy.

Her interest increased when Lord Shelburne spent several months in Paris in 1774 and visited her almost every day. Her first real experience of a leading statesman from a free country confirmed her instinctive dislike of autocracy. "A man of energy, elevation and genius France," she declared, "is like a chained lion in a menagerie. The consciousness of his powers tortures him." She never shared the admiration for Catherine the Great expressed by Voltaire and Diderot, d'Alembert and Grimm, none of whom cared much about free institutions. Her admiration, like that of Montesquieu, was reserved for England, and she wished something on the model of the English Constitution to be tried in France. "I should rather be the last member in the House of Commons than the King of Prussia. Only the glory Voltaire consoles me for not being born English."

Though sharing the general rejoicing at the death of Louis XV, she had no sanguine hopes from a change of ruler. "*Mon cher Abbé*," she remarked to Morallet, "*nous allons avoir pis*." The appointment of Turgot, the best Minister for generations, was a hopeful symptom. "He can keep his post," she commented, "he will become the idol of the nation. He is a fanatic for the public good." His virtues were to prove his undoing. France, like the Rome of Tacitus, could bear neither his ills nor her remedies. Turgot and Malesherbes continued their visits and discussed their plans; but theirs was a hopeless task, for they had to combat not only vested interests but widespread apathy. "So we are to be governed by *Philosophes*," sneered Mme du Deffand. "A pity! I have not secured their protection! For that one must have recourse to Mlle de Lespinasse."

Julie was proud of her salon, but she wanted something more. Neither the most brilliant conversation nor the touching devotion of d'Alembert could satisfy the longings of her ardent soul. Living in the romantic age of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Clarissa*, *Werther* and *Pauline Virginie*, she too could qualify as a *grande amoureuse*; yet most of her circle thought of her merely as a gracious and self-possessed hostess. D'Alembert, who had never been in love, spent hours in her company every day without discovering her quivering sensibility. When, however, the Spanish Marquis de Mora appeared on the horizon, his infatuation became the talk of Paris. Married at twelve to an heiress eleven still playing with her dolls, the rich, handsome and cultivated grandee had had *liaisons* but never a *grande passion* till he joined his father, Count Fuentes, the Spanish Ambassador, in Paris. When his girl wife died in childbirth, he became a highly eligible *parti* and was welcomed both at Court and in the salons. Sharing the advanced views of his father-in-law, Aranda, the leading reformer of eighteenth-century Spain, he fitted easily into the intellectual society of the French capital which was completely dominated by the *Philosophes*.

The impressionable Julie, now thirty-four, fell in love with Mora aged twenty-two, at first sight. "*Un coeur, oh quel coeur! Cet homme remplit l'idée que j'ai de la perfection*." Her passion was reciprocated but in January 1767 he was sent back to Spain on grounds of health. He returned in October 1768, saddened by the loss of his three-year-old son and depressed by the knowledge that he was a doomed man. That

as some talk of marriage, but the air of Paris was bad for him and he could not stay long. There was no thought of a *liaison*, but their passion was reflected in Julie's health and spirits. Having lost his wife and son he felt lonely despite the manifold attractions of Paris and he was grateful for her sympathy. When he visited the Court at Fontainebleau he wrote to her twice a day. It was too good to last, for at this moment his father resigned the Embassy, partly to prevent his son's marriage to his new friend. Mora had to tear himself away, and they were never to meet again. The correspondence continued, but with diminishing fervour. For Mora, slowly dying of consumption, she was still the only woman in the world. For Julie the vacuum left by his departure was quickly filled by a new and fiercer passion. During the brief remainder of her life her heart was torn asunder by the ardent letters she continued to receive from Spain while she tried to conceal the fact that he had lost his chance. The knowledge of her unworthiness was to hurry her to the grave.

The final chapter of Julie's life opened on June 21st, 1772, when she met Comte de Guibert at the house of a friend. Three days later she wrote to Condorcet: "I have met M. de Guibert and like him much." He promptly ordered his *Essai Général de Tactique*, which had recently won fame for the young colonel, and she wrote to tell the author how she had enjoyed it. As one of the classics of military literature, ranking with the *Réveries* of Marshal Saxe, it was praised by Frederick the Great, hailed by Voltaire as a work of genius, and annotated by Napoleon. This manual for commanders contained a Preliminary Discourse which attacked absolutism and anticipated the ideas of 1789. It was for this wider interest that it found its way into the Paris salons, in one of which, according to La Harpe, the guests spent an evening discussing which was most to be desired—to be his mother, his sister or his mistress. The military expert was also a brilliant talker, and could boast of many conquests in addition to his *maîtresse en titre*, Mme de Montsauge, a quiet, tolerant, married woman who never made scenes. Julie was soon madly in love with him. When in 1773 he made a lengthy visit to Austria and Prussia to study the battlefields of the Seven Years War, she poured out her heart in the letters which Sainte-Beuve justly ranks with the outpourings of Eloise and the Portuguese Nun. The passion mounted to an ecstasy which exhausted her in body and soul till it burned her to death as the moth is extinguished by the scorching flame.

The supreme experience of her life brought more pain than happiness. Day and night she was haunted by the pathetic figure of Mora, who continued his tender letters. Though the sufferer still dreamed of marriage, the news of terrible hæmorrhages revealed that the end was near. Hiding nothing of her feelings, she told Guibert that it was a misfortune that they ever met. "I detest the fatality which made me write my first letter a year ago. I am very true, very ill, and very unhappy." Now not only remorse but jealousy gnawed at her heart. Did Guibert receive letters from Mme de Montsauge? she inquired during his absence abroad; if so, did he read them and answer them first? She was haunted by the fear that people might suspect a *liaison*,

and that a rumour might reach her dying friend. She begged Guibert to destroy her letters and to tell no one of her love. She destroyed more of his, but the few which survive indicate that it was a very one-sided affair. At first he was embarrassed by the lava stream flowing over him and tried to put on the brake. His letters on places and people during his travels were so cool in tone that they could be shown to her friend and forwarded even to Mora himself.

Guibert returned from his journey with enhanced prestige. He had been welcomed by Frederick the Great at Potsdam and by Voltaire at Ferney. Julie's passion had grown into a devouring flame and for the first time he seemed inclined to respond. He even promised to break with Mme de Montesauze, though the promise was never fulfilled. There was still a marked difference between them. While he was busy with other things, constantly dining out and writing successful plays, she lived for him alone. She coughed, spat blood, hardly slept, and bombarded him with letters. "*Je vous aime comme il faut aimer, avec excès, avec folie, transport et désespoir.*"

The climax was reached on February 10th, 1774, when they sat together in a box at the Opera lent by a friend. Intoxicated by the music their lips touched, and in Julie's phrase "they drank the cup of delicious poison." She had gone too far to retreat; henceforth they were lovers. For Guibert it was a familiar experience, for Julie the opening of the gates of Paradise. Weeks of almost delirious happiness followed. "*Mon ami, je suis parfaite, car je vous aime en perfection.*" It was too good to last, and news from Spain of a new attack almost drove her to despair. Henceforth she was torn between ecstasy and remorse. On the anniversary of the night at the Opera she wrote to Guibert in anguish: "Midnight strikes. Memory freezes my blood. At the same hour M. de Mora received a mortal blow. I was more cruel and more culpable than the ignorant barbarians who have killed him. I die of regret. I ought not to have loved you." Her mood changed from hour to hour, but most of her letters breathe passionate exaltation. "*Mon bonheur c'est vous, ce n'est que vous. Mon ami, je souffre, je vous aime, je vous attends.*" She lost interest in her salon and her friends. "How I hate and despise them, and how horrible it would be to resume the life I have lived for ten years. I should prefer utter solitude to their horrible society." Her torments increased when she gradually realised that she was only an episode in the life of her lover and that he remained in touch with Mme de Montesauze. Jealousy bred reproaches and scenes became frequent. For Guibert she was becoming a liability, a burden, almost a bore.

The correspondence with Mora, once a delight, was now a torture for in playing a double game she had lost her self-respect. "Come to Paris for treatment," she wrote; "Madrid will kill you." The dying man had sensed the cooling of her love and determined to reconquer her heart after an absence of three years. When he reached Bordeaux his new hæmorrhage ended his sufferings. His last letter written on the day of his death cut her to the heart. "*J'allais vous revoir. Il faut mourir. Quelle affreuse destinée! Je meure pour vous.*" Back came her ring with a lock of her hair inside. "I killed him," she exclaimed. She and the

faithful d'Alembert wept together, and her letters to Guibert were full of the shattering news. The shock ruined her health; headaches, irritability, insomnia, spasms, were her daily companions, which ever-increasing doses of opium failed to mitigate. For such a bundle of nerves the only cure was death. D'Alembert, distressed by her sufferings, did his best, but of the depth of her passion for Guibert he had little idea. Her letters blend transports of devotion with jealous rebukes. Longing for his visits she was disappointed when he came. Sometimes he missed an engagement or neglected to write; sometimes his thoughts seemed far away. Her behaviour, on the contrary, was explained in three words: "*Je vous aime.*"

If Mora's death had shattered her, the news that Guibert was about to marry struck a mortal blow. He had been courting for a year without her guessing that anything was amiss. In vain did he argue that a *mariage de convenance* was dictated by financial and family considerations. "We can no longer love each other," she cried in despair. "I can live no longer. What I suffer is inexpressible." In vain did Guibert beg her to remain his friend. She longed to see the pretty girl of seventeen who was painted by Greuze. The interview was a success; the fiancée was enchanted, and on her return Julie wrote: "She is charming and worthy of you. Yes, you will be happy." Next day the wind had veered and she renewed her reproaches. "You rank me with Lovelace and all the scoundrels," he complained, but he had never cared enough for her to break his heart over her sorrows.

While Guibert was entering on a happy marriage and his sweet-tempered and tolerant wife was kind to Mme de Montsaugé, Julie was tormented with remorse and despair. For a week, she reported, she sat silent, tearless, sometimes shaken by convulsions. Guibert wrote coldly, excusing himself from a visit and advising her to forget. The letter, she answered, suffocated her; he could never have loved her. The doses of opium increased, and one day when she seemed to be dying d'Alembert sat in tears at the foot of her bed. At this crisis Guibert, who was more than a mere rake, wrote a kindly letter beginning "*Mon amie,*" which was balm to her bleeding heart. She resolved to save what she could from the wreck, and from time to time he frequented her salon. Indeed his tender feelings revived to such an extent as to propose the resumption of intimacy, but now it was Julie who stood firm. Life had nothing more to offer and she longed for death. Her friends attributed her grief to the death of Mora, and it was not till the publication of her letters many years later that her volcanic passion for Guibert was revealed. D'Alembert noticed but could not explain the change in her attitude towards him which, she confesses, was entirely her fault. "His presence grates on me; I feel too unworthy of his friendship and his virtues." After her death Marmontel tried to comfort him by reminding him of her ingratitude. "Yes." was the characteristic reply, "she had changed, but I had not."

Safely anchored in a happy marriage, Guibert seems to have cared more for Julie when their *liaison* was over than while the flame was at white heat. The dying woman described herself as almost mad. Forellet pictures her as still vivacious in her salon where a few intimates

still gathered round her, but it afforded her little pleasure unless Guibert was there. "I was surrounded by people," she reported, "but I could not have been more lonely in the desert." Even then her joy was bitter-sweet, for the thought of his wife and Mme de Montsaugue still fretted her soul. How *could* he have divided his favours when she had given him her whole heart? She still made scenes, but now he was gentle and patient for he knew that her time was short. When she took to her bed her half-brother, the Marquis de Vichy, was summoned. He persuaded her to receive the sacraments and was present at her death. Guibert sat upstairs with d'Alembert, who went down for news every half-hour, and brought him her last letter written a few hours before the end. While d'Alembert and Condorcet conducted the funeral, Guibert stood in the crowd and the same evening composed the *Eloge d'Elisa*.

D'Alembert was her executor, but to the grief at her loss was added the discovery that he had meant to her far less than he had always believed. He knew something of her love for Mora, but a long account of that passion which he found among her papers wrung his heart. It was distressing to learn that she had kept none of his own letters. Momentary irritation at her ingratitude, however, soon yielded to grief. His unselfish devotion was known to all his friends, and among those who sent condolences were Frederick the Great and Voltaire. Fortunately for his peace of mind the passionate letters to Guibert remained a secret till long after his death. Her will, dated February 11th, 1778, left Guibert "all my English books, all my quarto volumes of French literature, and other fine editions." Her writing-table went to Suarès, the busts of d'Alembert and Voltaire to Condorcet. "To Mme Geoffrin who has overwhelmed me with kindness and whom I love so tenderly, my little marble bird on its ormulu stand." To d'Alembert, "as a mark of my tender friendship," she bequeathed some furniture. None of the celebrated *salonnières* of the eighteenth century gave or received so much love as Julie de Lespinasse. None of them sounded the heights or plumbed the depths of life in the same overflowing measure. "*Moi-même à la fièvre continue*," she confessed, and the disease was mortal. Quivering like an aspen leaf, she was born to love and to suffer. She owes her fame, not to the novelty of her experiences, but to her matchless capacity to describe the tumults and torments of a woman's soul.

G. P. GOOCH.

THE PLIGHT OF THE BALTIC STATES

LIKE a grey soulless monster which keeps stalking through its vanquished gehenna, the security apparatus in the three luckless Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, continues to churn up fresh victims to dump them quivering into the insatiable jaws of the ever-turning mincing machine which has been snuffing out the last flickers of personal liberty in the past eighteen months. The Russification is no longer being carried out in the slow, grinding manner com-

ceived back in 1945. Not even those supporters of Russian Imperialism who enjoyed the full measure of the Kremlin's favour up to recently are being spared. In Estonia, for instance, seven leading Communists have received brusque dismissal notices. Alexander Jõeäär, Minister of Justice, was expelled from the vassal Cabinet after being brandmarked as a "handyman of the demagogic West." Lembit Luus, Minister of Industries, was purged for alleged "bourgeois nationalism." Hans Luus had to lay down his foreign ministerial portfolio because of suspected sympathies with the British way of life. This former professor of history made the fatal mistake of preferring Estonian literary works to those of Russian authors.

The reasons for Nigol Andersen's dismissal from his post as Vice-president of the Supreme Estonian Soviet have never been disclosed, but his removal caused a great deal of discomfiture in high Communist quarters. Sure enough the unquenchable appetite of the purgers began to thirst for the blood of Presidium's chairman, Eduard Pall, a Red of the Old Guard who had sought refuge in the U.S.S.R. as far back as 1920. In 1942 Pall again fled to the Soviet Union and returned to his native Estonia in the trail of the Red Army. The position of Boris Kumm, Minister of State Security, had seemed just as unshakable, but he too had to make way for a collectivisation expert with fewer scruples as regards the treatment of renitent Estonians, half a million of whom have already been thrashed into labour camps, away from their native soil.

The wave of sabotage which almost developed into full-scale revolution last autumn had the backing of the masses who were ready to fling their puny bodies at the barking machine-guns. The Soviet secret police exploited the opportunity to imprison 70 per cent. of the regional and local Communist party secretaries on the grounds of ineptitude. These hard, thick-skinned functionaries were struck dumb when they realised their danger. Tongues cleaving to the roof of their mouths they walked into traps specially prepared for them. They knew, of course, the reason for the stiffening resistance. The peasants have been expecting the outbreak of a Third World War any day. To their unvarnished thoughts the only salvation to their fate lies in another bloody conflagration. The direct upshot of this latent hope has been a continued lethargy often devolving into passive resistance. The Secretary-General of the Estonian C.P., N. Karotamm, was blamed for this opposition and, despite his superlative credentials, dismissed. His successor, J. Käbin, fearing a similar fate, is bludgeoning through with his subjugation campaign regardless of the complete lack of sympathy among the population. In 1949 farmers with more than seventy-five acres of land were termed "Kulaks" (capitalists). To-day a poverty-stricken peasant with more than forty acres is already a Kulak.

Some months ago Radio Tallin still carried a programme entitled "The Farmer's Hour." This same emission is now entitled "The Hour of the Kokhoznuk." The fresh transmission began with the introduction: "The liquidation of Kulaks is the only guarantee for success." It was a sombre warning not only to Estonians but also for the Latvian

peasantry. Already two years ago M.G.B. officers had predicted a thorough "clean-up" in the administration. Shortly afterwards the President of the Latvian Republic, Albert Kirchensteins, a former biology professor, vanished while on a goodwill mission to the U.S.S.R. proper. He was followed by Sergej Nikojajevich Gulanzkj, Latvia's Deputy Premier, who was suddenly branded as a blunderer, having failed to disentangle the chaos of the barge traffic. It was an ill-invented charge, the more so as Gulanzkj had been decorated with the Order of Lenin in July 1950. No successor has yet been found, probably because the Russians do not wish to see this important post filled. Peteris Valeskalns did not fare much better. He was sacked as Foreign Minister and the portfolio passed into the hands of the present Premier, Janis Ostrov, who is a member of the Supreme Soviet. Valeskalns attended the U.N. plenary session at Paris in 1947 and his star seemed to be on the ascendancy.

Uneasiness reigned in Riga. No official dared to be seen in another's house. A courtesy call was sufficient to incriminate the most trustworthy Communist. The whip kept lashing down, hitting with deadly accuracy Karlis Strazdins, Minister of Education, who had already been an ardent partisan of the Bolshevik cause in 1917 when he had been appointed Commissar at Valka. His successor, Vilis Samsons, is a Hero of the Soviet Union, but such exalted titles carry little weight in the three Baltic States. Not even the comparatively unpolitical ministerial portfolio was left in Latvian hands. Sakss, the Commissar for Forestry, had to stand down in favour of the Russian Artemjev. Latest reports indicate that another four ministers have received curt walking papers. It is significant that all these top-level functionaries were unable to save their skin despite the highest connections in Moscow. Karlis Strazdins had incurred the thunders of the Kremlin merely by permitting that Russian and Estonian teachers conferred separately. He failed to see the red light when *Pravda* admonished him for alleged sectarianism—a cardinal sin in a country still in the stage of unyielding Russification.

The Secretary-General of the Latvian C.P., Pelsche, was given to understand that he would lose his head unless he succeeded in eradicating nationalist tendencies. Trembling for his personal safety he released a warning that all "bourgeois chauvinists" (he meant patriots) would be ruthlessly stamped under the ground. Pelsche is having to contend with widespread dissension. Through the Press and the radio he keeps reminding party members of their duties, but as yet progress has not even gone as far as the well-known introduction of the self-criticism forum. Of the 32,000 party members only 7 per cent. are peasants. Eight thousand have already been accused of "white-livered opportunism." That leaves a very small cadre—about 1 per cent. of the total population—to carry through the unpopular reforms. Pelsche's opposite number in Lithuania, Comrade Snetchkus, has also been censuring his flock for political vacillation and apostasy. The administrative inefficiency is largely due to the inability to procure the loyalty of the intelligentsia that refuses to respond to the advances from Moscow. The few realists of the moment who have agreed to join the

anks of the party are not considered sufficiently reliable to take over indoctrination classes.

Fresh entrants to the party schools are being told that their main duties in office will be the eradication of nationalist influences. The shortage of trained functionaries is particularly evident on State farms. At present 700 candidates for kolkhoz chairmanships are undergoing intensive training. In Latvia the Soviets obviously fear an usurpation of power. To forestall any *coup d'état* measures have been taken to disband the "Home Corps" under the command of the Bolshevised General Päern, who has disappeared, despite his public avowal of sympathy for the Soviets. The members of the corps were separated into various labour battalions. Senior officers such as Major-General Luukas, and the Colonels Mullas, Luks, Külaats, Lessel, Reskov have suffered a similar fate as Päern, who thought that he was safe as War Minister. It appears that Päern, whatever his sympathies, was still patriot enough to object to the Soviet-sponsored fortifications programme which has been stepped up lately. Riga has been turned into a M.G.B. garrison town. In the area between Jelgava and Dobeles the Red Army has concentrated large formations. Coastal guns are being installed under the supervision of Professor Dereskin and naval strong-points are being built at Kihelkonna, Kuressare and on the island of Saaremaa. Coastal artillery is also being installed on Hiiumaa Island despite local protests. The population has been "resettled" in the accepted brutal fashion. The population in the rest of the country is constantly being harangued by 50,000 skilled agitators. This means that there is one propaganda spokesman to each twenty-seven franchised citizens!

The endeavour of the three C.P.s in the Baltic republics to create so-called "agro-towns" (agricultural communities with 3,000 inhabitants) is not being regarded with favour, since the Balt peasant has never cared to fit himself into a closely-knit society, despite the assurances of *Pravda* that he is longing to do so. Estonia, for instance, had some 3,000 kolkhoz enterprises last September. A third of these have now been "co-ordinated" into 470 farms. Whereas each Estonian peasant was promised at least half an acre of land in 1945, he is now only allowed to attend a handkerchief-sized garden. Similarly all individual practices are being rooted out in Latvia where 1,500-acre farms are being collectivised into 3,000-acre managements. Whereas last year the Latvian farm worker could still potter about away from the others, he must now share his meals in 1,750 community kitchens of kolkhoz farms. In five years of sweat and labour all the Balts have reaped are broken promises. They are losing their right of say over their own countries. In Estonia, for instance, the Russians have "imported" 300,000 reliable Communists. Soon a Balt will be the lowest caste in the hierarchy. The repressive measures adopted in Lithuania have turned the people into obdurate oppositionists. Naturally the Russians have retorted by screwing their reforms tighter than ever. The Soviets, despite countless protestations, have insisted on an all-Russian homogeneity. Whatever the Lithuanians may say, farms will in future be 3,500 acres to conform with Russian standards. Lithuania has always

been regarded as the most backward of the three Baltic States. The Soviet Government has not forgotten this, and in five years no less than 35 million copies of propaganda leaflets and brochures have been printed for the benefit of the population. There is no let-up in this agitation. Tradition, customs, patriotism, they have all been thrown into the melting pot for the sake of soul-destroying standardisation.

K. FRANK FELDMAN.

LUXEMBURG: A MODEL STATE

THE obstacles to the realisation of Benelux are largely caused by the totally different wage level. Wages in Belgium, which exceed those paid in Holland, are 10 per cent.-20 per cent. below the standard of Luxemburg. Luxemburg, however—and this applies equally to industrialists and workers—is not prepared to lower its level, the exemplary wages being a source of national pride. The British worker earns as much as his mate in Luxemburg, but his wage is reduced by the higher cost of living. Wages in France are 15 per cent.-30 per cent. lower than in Luxemburg and their real value is even less since prices are far in excess of the official exchange value. Only Swiss workers are paid 10 per cent.-20 per cent. more. It is pointed out in Luxemburg, however, that in fact the comparison is less favourable in view of the higher prices in Switzerland. Apart from the excellent earnings measured by European standards, of Luxemburg workers, social conditions are unparalleled in Europe. I shall speak about them later. It must be taken into account that Luxemburg with its population of only 300,000 lacks capital and raw materials, and that it is particularly affected by market fluctuations. Of the steel-producing countries it takes the seventh place, but it produces the highest tonnages in the world per head of its population (three times as high as America and five times higher than Germany). Undoubtedly, therefore, it represents a steel Power whose economic importance carries political weight and balances its military weakness in the present period of rearmament. Internally, the most influential single factor is its iron and steel industry, which has changed the structure of the entire population. The main revenue of the State—20 per cent.-22 per cent. of the national income consists of taxes—derives from concessions to various industrial concerns granted for the exploitation of the iron ore mines by the State which regards itself as the owner granting the right to utilise these mines to others.

Luxemburg does not look back on a long tradition as a centre of heavy industry. In the '70s, only 150 tons of crude iron (Thomas steel) were produced as compared to the 3 million tons averaged during the last few years. This unprecedented boom was only brought about by the rediscovery of the Minette—iron grains containing 1 per cent. of phosphorus—and by the process evolved by the great English chemist Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, who is venerated as a national benefactor to this day. The Thomas Process led to the discovery of the Thomas Slag, an industrial by-product of high fertilising power. This facilitated

more intensive cultivation of the formerly rather barren soil. To-day, Luxemburg's agriculture meets 80 per cent.-90 per cent. of home requirements of corn and about 100 per cent. of the meat and milk consumption. At the same time the wine production, formerly rather inferior, has improved steadily. I visited some of the modern, co-operative wine companies where I was informed with pride that Luxemburg's total production in a good year amounted to approximately 130,000 gallons. The Rundstedt offensive had wrought such devastating destruction on the country that a deterioration in the universally high standard of living was feared. The crisis was soon overcome. If one visits the affected areas to-day, one finds them almost completely rebuilt. This effort deserves special mention in view of the fact that one-third of all houses were destroyed. There is now practically no housing shortage. Special taxation—a war profit tax and higher capital levies—enabled Luxemburg, among other factors, to recover to such an extent that Marshall aid was used only very sparingly. In Parliament we find the following picture: 22 Christian Socialists, 10 Social Democrats, 9 Liberals (Groupement) and 4 Communists. The strong and deep-rooted clerical influence explains this Catholic majority. Furthermore, the powerful position of the Church has also a material background. For example, the hospitals in the city of Luxemburg belong to religious orders, and the bishopric owns and controls the biggest paper in the country. Encyclicals signed by the bishop denounce everything Socialist and draw no distinction, even *vis-à-vis* the trade unions, between Communism and Social Democracy. Luxemburg's formerly merely symbolic army can reach a maximum strength of 10,000 men, and without an air force of its own it is vitally dependent on Allied protection. In order to show its goodwill, however, Luxemburg was the first Benelux country to raise the term of military service from six months to one year. Although this decision had the unanimous backing of Parliament, except for the Communists, it was not popular among the broad masses, who cherish a tradition of neutrality. The Communists are convinced that a referendum would reverse the extension of military service and are eagerly agitating for it. They probably under-estimate the deterrent effect of the Soviets' imperialist policy. One hundred volunteers came forward in Luxemburg for inclusion in the Belgian Korea contingent, whereas only 200 were needed.

The Social Democrats—their appraisal as “loyal opposition” or Government party outside the Government” seems to me justified—agree with the Cabinet in regard to its practical defence policy but criticise the allegedly inadequate public enlightenment said to lag far behind France and Belgium, where proclamations were made by the Premier, the War Minister, etc. The party continues to uphold the historic doctrine of materialism, but its leaders do not consider it essential that the Marxist philosophy and economic theories should be fully realised in this particular generation. Thus they pursue a policy of realities and are also anxious not to deter the many pious Christians from joining their ranks. Their demand is for “economic democracy,” high taxation of the moneyed classes and joint responsibility of the

workers. Despite clerical opposition, many towns and communities have already a Social Democratic majority or a coalition in which the Social Democrats are the dominant factor.

The General Workers Union, which is closely connected with the Social Democrats, embraces amongst others the Union of Miners and Metal Workers and the National Railway Union. It profits, of course, from Communist setbacks and it may be assumed, therefore, that the Workers Union comprises about 70 per cent.-80 per cent. of all organised workers. In addition to this union, there are the Christian Trade Union and the Communist Free Workers Federation of Luxemburg.

Obviously, the tactics of the trade unions must be adapted to the particular sociological structure of the Luxemburg industrial workers, who are the opposite of an uprooted proletariat and many of whom stem from peasant and artisan stock. Great caution is observed in regard to wages. On the one hand, excessive circulation of money and its resulting danger of inflation are to be avoided while, on the other hand, preserving the purchasing power of the wages. The trade unions are fortunate in dealing with a very understanding partner in industry. Following the recent boom, the steel and iron industry of Luxemburg increased all wages by 5 per cent., without even waiting for a demand to this effect from the trade unions. The industry does not aim at attaining its position on the world market by underpaying its workers and employees, but by constant modernisation and rationalisation as I found in an intensive tour of the Arbed Steel Works.

The basic wage of an industrial worker amounts to Fr.18.50 (Fr.12 to the pound), which may be increased up to Fr.24 for piece work. With workers earn Fr.40. During profitable years, so-called production premiums are added. As against this, one kilo of bread costs Fr.7, one kilo of butter between Fr.76 and Fr.90, according to quality, beef between Fr.36 and Fr.70, and pork between Fr.46 and Fr.52. These figures show that the trade union have no reason to complain about wage conditions. Through the medium of the Workers Chambers they exercise a not inconsiderable influence. These bodies, composed of Christian and free trade unions, submit their proposals in questions of wages and social matters to the Government and Parliament, and examine in turn the proposals made by the Government and Parliament. This procedure has led to a fairly harmonious co-operation. In the iron and steel industry, for example, there has been no strike since 1921, with the exception of the patriotic uprising of 1942.

Social conditions and institutions in Luxemburg are better than those in most other countries. On the basis of social legislation, a system of health insurance was introduced in 1901. To-day, two-thirds of the population belong to health societies. Old age and invalid insurance followed in 1911. As early as 1914, Luxemburg adopted the German system of old age pensions. Unemployment assistance, which benefits at present fourteen people, was laid down by law in 1921. The latest social reform came in 1946 in the form of family and child allowances. A great part of the burden for social welfare is borne by the big industrial concerns. They have always followed the principal, however, of eschewing an excessively capitalist course and of improving

lot of the workers instead. Thus, they have accepted voluntary gardens in addition to their compulsory obligations. To this end, "Arbed"—I mention this firm so often because it is the oldest and largest—spends about 40 million francs in bad years and 50 million in good ones. The combined compulsory obligations and voluntary contributions result in old age pensions of Fr.2,000-2,700, for miners up to Fr.3,500 per month. "Arbed" maintains old age homes, hospitals and maternity homes partly alone, partly in conjunction with the communities or the Red Cross. Talented youngsters who have passed their School Certificate are given scholarships of Fr.2-4,000. Five canteens and three restaurants for workers and employees provide meals at exceedingly low prices and may be used at the same time as clubs during leisure hours. Workers and their families receive cheap vegetables from the firm's own market garden.

Initiative to build is encouraged by premiums and special reductions for certain materials. "Arbed" has erected 1,117 houses with 1,441 flats for workers as well as 281 houses for its officials. A one-family house which would normally command a rent of Fr.1,200-1,500, costs only Fr.500. Last not least, the firm supplements the family allowances paid by the State: a premium of Fr.2,500 to the mother at the birth of a child, plus Fr.5,000 for the first and Fr.3,000 for each additional child.

An article about the steel country would not be complete without reference to the Schuman Plan (its author lived in Luxemburg until the age of 19). Not only the industrialists but also the trade unions favour this plan. They do not want to isolate themselves and desire not a mad international steel competition but a sensible system which should, however, not be allowed to mask cartelisation.

A. J. FISCHER.

THE PURITANISM OF ARNOLD BENNETT

RECENTLY, a literary Brains Trust, faced by the question whether any book published during the last fifty years had become a classic, could agree only upon one, Arnold Bennett's *Old Wives' Tale*. So much of Bennett's work is ephemeral that one is forced to inquire what elements in his *Old Wives' Tale*, as perhaps in *Rayhanger* and *Hilda Lessways*, lift them above the mere popular entertainment value of so many of his other novels. Superficially, they seem to reveal the generally accepted Bennett—realist, materialist, above all, the confident and aggressive agnostic, firm in his evolutionary meliorism, holding that the world and its inhabitants, including Coué and his disciple, Ramsay MacDonald, were automatically getting better and better every day. Not for him the wistful doubts and apologetic rejection of faith of an earlier generation!

The Georgians, with their Shaws and Webbs and Wellses, had shaken themselves free of the (to them) unreal dreams of their forefathers, and stood on the crest of the incoming wave of scientific materialism,

boldly fronting the dawn of a new era where religion should stand condemned as the opium of the masses, and God be relegated to the intellectual lumber room. There are passages, of course, even in Bennett's best novels which express this mood of emancipated secularism. Brought up in a middle-class commercial family which was exclusively and vociferously Free Church, Bennett was swift to seize on anything that was mean or hypocritical in the form of religion he knew best. Aunt Clara Hemps, with her smug insincerity and her pretensions to be "leaning hard," lives not only as a very adroit woman in herself but as a satire upon a certain type of evangelical piety.

For the gross and palpable literalism of so much contemporary theology he had scant sympathy, and no vestige of sentiment kept him from reducing a sacred theme to mere ridicule when he wanted to expose the incongruity of belief and believer. The scene of the Sunday School Centenary Celebrations in *Clayhanger* is an outstanding example. There is the constant emphasis upon blood, in the wording of the banner, the words of the hymns, in the speech, so that Edwin Clayhanger finds himself visualising "the riven trunk of a man dying, and a torrent of blood flowing therefrom, and people like his Auntie Clara and his brother-in-law Albert plunging ecstatically into the liquid in order to be white." * And at the same time we see those same people, Auntie Clara on the balcony above Baines, Albert Benbow amongst the other petty, self-important officials briefly designated as "the rosettes," themselves entirely impervious to the implications of this emotional wallowing in blood.

Bennett's sympathies are obviously with Edwin Clayhanger who "hated Sunday Schools." "They were connected in his memory with an atrocious tedium, pietistical insincerity and humiliating contact." At the bottom of his mind he still regarded them as a malicious device of parents for wilfully harassing and persecuting inoffensive, helpless children. † That Edwin's resentment arose partly from ignorance of the origin and history of Sunday Schools Bennett concedes, just as his resentment towards the senile figure of Mr. Shushions arose out of his ignorance of the old man's part in rescuing Darius and his family from the squalor of "the Bastille." ‡ Bennett knows more than Edwin of Mr. Shushions' history, and is correspondingly the more sympathetic towards him; but, ultimately, the presence of the toothless, dirty, disarrayed figure in the demonstration on the Square only serves to emphasise the sordid and tawdry quality of the ceremony in Bennett's own imagination, a quality already sufficiently underlined by his description of "the thousands of perspiring children, penned like sheep and driven to and fro like sheep . . . who nearly all had the air of poverty putting the best face on itself." §

The contrast between the complacency and physical well-being of the promoters of the ceremony and the wretchedness of their victims—the children—and the even more abject wretchedness of the hangers-on, "unkempt idlers" and "a few score ragamuffins whose parents

* Arnold Bennett, *Clayhanger* (London: Methuen, 1947), p.242.

† *Ibid.*, p.225.

§ *Ibid.*, p.237.

† *Ibid.*, p.224.

ere too poor or too careless to make them superficially presentable ough to figure in a procession " *—tends to reinforce the materialistic end which predominated in the religious life of his " Five Towns." urchgoing, as it appeared to Bennett, is a gigantic fraud, perpetuated y the realistic acting of its protagonists. The devout man or woman is e or she who dissembles best, but in spite of the outward gestures of ety the heart is far away. Of the worshippers in the Baines' pew at e Watchnight Service Sophia alone comes anywhere near the spirit f true religion, for she is torn between her desire to see Gerald again nd a sense of shame that her infatuation had led her astray in her ehaviour towards her family. She at least is aware of the existence of tangible values. The others are obsessed with purely material oncerns.

Many a believer, however, has exposed the superficiality of the orship of so-called Christians, has admitted the pomposity and ficiousness of so many Church workers, the self-interest of their rvice, the limitations of t spiritual insight. Many of the most dent Nonconformists would limit the extremes of literalism to which me of their fellow-worshippers have carried their interpretations of ristian dogma. But Arnold Bennett's rupture with orthodox rianity goes deeper; he questions not only the periphery xpressions but also the fundamentals of the faith. When Edwin layhanger is confronted by little George Cannon's reflection on the esence of yellow clay in the Potteries, " I suppose God put that clay ere so that people could practise on it first, before they tried the white ay," † he is embarrassed, and his embarrassment in the face of religion obviously his creator's too. Edwin asks himself, " How ought he to lk to the child concerning God? He was about to make a con- entional response, when he stopped himself. ' Confound it! Why ould I? ' he thought. ' If I were you, I shouldn't worry about God! ' e said, aloud, in a casual and perhaps slightly ironic tone. " If that were l, that would be the finishing touch towards our picture of Bennett e realist, materialist and agnostic; if not a very aggressive and ustering agnostic, at least a somewhat superior and cynical one. But eorge Cannon is Bennett's creation as well as Edwin Clayhanger, and s reply to the worldly wisdom of the adult is significant. " Oh, I on't," George answered positively. " But now and then He comes to your head, doesn't He? "

It would appear that God comes now and then into Bennett's head, a sudden flash of intuition, usually, in *Clayhanger*, vested in the erson of Hilda, in a transient glimpse of the existence of values that e not purely physical, or material, or even intellectual. Edwin's assing dictum *apropos* of the atheist politician Bradlaugh, " There's no rtue in believing," awakens in Hilda a deep and tortured process of quiry, as in one who is " always trying to believe," ‡ and who would adly accept Edwin's remark if she dared believe it true. The sight of e ancient Shushions accomplishes in her a miraculous transformation om the harsh metallic creature into one of infinite tenderness, the emory of which recurs to Edwin after ten years, in the dingy boarding-

* *Ibid.*, p.236.

† *Ibid.*, p.518.

‡ *Ibid.*, p.219.

house at Brighton, as "a divine gesture." * There is her retort to Edwin's flippant "More blood," as he listens to the speech at the Sunday School celebrations. "Even if we don't believe," said she, not harshly but imploringly, "we needn't make fun." † And then her passionate outburst about the hymn, "When I survey the wondrous Cross" — "That's the most splendid religious verse ever written," she cries passionately. "You can say what you like. It's worth believing if you can sing words like that, and mean them." ‡ All these hints would suggest chinks in the strong armour of Bennett's agnostic materialism.

Paradoxically enough, there always seems most of Bennett himself in his women characters, and of these Hilda Lessways always seems to me to be a particular favourite. The inner workings of her mind are revealed most fully in the novel that bears her name. In *Clayhanger* she is a sphinx, speaking out of an unwonted depth of passion, but speaking usually in riddles; and therein resides her power. She is surrounded by a haunting mystery. In *Hilda Lessways* she is brought out into the light of common day. The cold gleam of reason is allowed to play upon her movements and motives, thus reducing them to the plane of ordinary mortals. As a realist, Bennett undoubtedly wanted to keep his study within normal human dimensions, but he did so at a price. In spite of the technical skill with which incidents from *Clayhanger* are so woven into the narrative of *Hilda Lessways* that we study them from the reverse side, artistically, as Lafourcade pointed out in his work on Arnold Bennett,§ it was a mistake to seek to analyse too closely the springs of thought and conduct of as enigmatical a character as Hilda, or to examine psychologically the secret of her power over Edwin Clayhanger.

One thing emerges equally in both books: she is a character with intense religious preoccupations, in spite of her indifference to the traditional forms of worship of the Five Towns. Her passionate reaction to her mother's death and her own failure to arrive in time to see her produce a nervous condition bordering on religious mania. The doctor diagnoses a nervous breakdown, "but to Hilda the reasoning and the resultant phrase 'nervous breakdown' had meant nothing at all. Words! Empty words! She knew, profoundly and fatally, that the evil principle which had conquered her so completely that she had no power left with which to fight it. This evil principle was Sin; it was not the force of sins, however multifarious, it was Sin itself. She was the Sinner, convicted and self-convicted. One of the last intelligent victims of a malady which has now almost passed away from the civilised earth she existed in the chill and stricken desolation of incommutable doom." "Her malady alone was proof enough that she had a profoundly religious nature," comments her author; her tragedy was that she could find no outlet for it through the channels of conventional religion.

The story of Hilda Lessways is, in some ways, that of her emancipation from the toils of the Puritan conscience. Hence her ardent clutching hold of the hope held out to her by Clayhanger's remark about

* *Ibid.*, p. 504.

† *Ibid.*, p. 245.

‡ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

§ George Lafourcade, *Arnold Bennett* (London: 1939), pp. 136-8.

|| Arnold Bennett, *Hilda Lessways* (London: Methuen, 1911), p. 141.

belief, but although in words and deeds she repudiates the faith of her ancestors her actions are none the less determined by a conscience no longer peculiarly her own. There is a corporate conscience acting in and through her, as in Sophia in *The Old Wives' Tale*; it is this conscience which prevents them from yielding to the offer of a love which Bursley would have condemned as illicit, although on the rational level they may see no valid objection to it.

There is a constant conflict in Bennett's chief characters between the conscious and the subconscious, and here it is the conscious which sees the advantages of unconventional, even of immoral, conduct, and the subconscious which shrinks from it. There is nothing in Sophia's personal moral code to keep her from a liaison with Chirac. Hilda as an individual is not shocked beyond reconciliation by George Cannon's revelation of his bigamy. But both are prevented from further relations, with the lover in the one case, with the "husband" in the other, by an inherited conscience which is stronger than any line of conduct they might consciously seek to adopt. Of Bennett's characters Lafourcade says: "Theirs is the hypocrisy of the Puritan, not the suit. They are with themselves at war, and the will (sometimes strongly identified with the brain) conquers, though not without immense slaughter. . . . They grapple with the sensuous or sensitive part of their nature with all the eager violence of the Puritan. But the sensitive part wriggles and dies hard. Hence the struggle which is one of the psychology of Bennett's novels." *

This struggle is part of the mental inheritance of the men and women from the north, born and brought up in an atmosphere of stern self-expression, and in their tortured doubts and hesitations Bennett himself joins with them. He hates, and frequently castigates, those stumbling and distorted judgments which he feels arise in his characters from the use of a curse hanging low upon the heads of those who dare indulge in the voluptuousness of the senses; and yet one is left with the impression that those happy souls who are not haunted by a sense of guilt fail to hold his imagination. Just as Janet Orgreaves, with all her beauty, good nature and pure Hellenic simplicity of soul, fails to attract Edwin Clayhanger, so Bennett himself seems to fail to find in the pagan high spirits and direct uninhibited judgments of those outside the baneful circle of Puritanism the stuff of great literature. The Orgreaves, for all their wit and generosity and social graces, have a tightness, a facetiousness, which prevents their life from rising to the plane of heroic passions, and in the last analysis it is on such a plane that Bennett wants his work to move.

It is significant that Lafourcade should entitle his chapter on *The Old Wives' Tale* "Classical Tragedy," and on the Clayhanger novels "An Æschylean Trilogy." Of the former Bennett himself wrote that he has "fecundating an epic." . . . "I must introduce in the novel not merely sexual psychology but a lofty nobility such as I got sometimes from *Whom God Hath Joined!*" † This epic quality comes not only from

* Lafourcade, *op. cit.*, p.27.

† Arnold Bennett, *Life and Letters*, January 1929. Note to extracts from *Journals*; quoted Lafourcade, *op. cit.*, p.105.

the outward conflict of mortal beings with the inscrutable workings of time (although that is ever present in *The Old Wives' Tale*) but from the inward conflict of what Tennyson might have called "soul at war with sense." Where there is no such dualism within the human personality, there is no essential drama; merely the superficial juxtaposition of accidental, even incidental, traits. The writer may evolve ingenious plots, settings mysterious or grandiose, subtle dénouements, romantic sentiment, melodrama, but he never rises to the level of true human drama, which depends principally on character. And the eternal interest of character is wrested from the clash of divergent elements within. The development of Henry Shakespeare Knight in *A Great Man* or of Denry in *The Card* may make amusing reading, but it is too effortless, too "impersonal" to grip the reader's imagination. They are carried forward to fame and success by a series of automatic brain-waves in which the *whole* personality of the character has little part. Occasionally we get a glimpse into the workings of their inner minds and some shrewd comment upon their psychology, but for the greater part we see only the prosperous, smooth-running exterior. Bennett makes no secret of it that these brain-waves appear to their possessors to come from outside themselves. When Denry offers to give her house to the old Widow Hullins, he seems to be listening to someone else talking. "As always when he did something crucial, spectacular and effective the deed had seemed to be done by a mysterious power within him over which he had no control." * This "mysterious power" is something quite different from the subconscious inherited conscience which decides the course of action of the characters in his finest novels; the latter sets up a conflict within the personality, the former acts magically like a kindly familiar spirit popping up unsolicited to solve every problem by a flash of insight which seems to have no logical ancestor. Henry Shakespeare Knight, Denry, even the Orgreaves, are unvexed by the Puritan conscience, even though the former belong socially to its orbit. Hilda, Edwin Clayhanger, Constance, Sam Povey, Sophia and because of its presence are fuller characters than the others. Puritanism, however much Bennett tries to dwarf it as something ugly and sordid, has the power to set in motion the warring impulses of a man, and as such holds for the author of *The Old Wives' Tale* and *Clayhanger* a power from which he was not to escape without stunting his art.

Of real faith Bennett was to have little, but the afterglow which surrounds a tacit respect for religious conduct, however illogical and contrary it may seem once its basis in belief has been removed, has not quite died away from his world. It lent its reflection, now grotesque and sanguinary, now mysterious and heroic, to his imaginary creations and once he brushed it aside for the garish lights of a purely sensual décor there passed with it from his work something of the intensity, the dignity, the sense of abiding values which make *The Old Wives' Tale*—and *Clayhanger*—classics of the twentieth century.

J. N. HARDING.

* Arnold Bennett, *The Card*, (Methuen: 1941), p. 47.

ENGLISH SCIENCE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE placid Elizabethan period was an age of cultural development in England. The arts flourished and progressed, Shakespeare wrote his plays, and music rose to great heights under the influence of such composers as Orlando Gibbons and Byrd. But it was not until the turbulent days of the Stuart kings that English science underwent rebirth and the old classical ideas about scientific phenomena, expressed by the great Greek thinkers, were revised. Then commenced a period of scientific experimentation despite the general unrest of the country caused by civil war. From 1500 onwards a large medical school had flourished in Italy at the University of Padua. The old ideas concerning human anatomy and physiology were revised by such great anatomists as Vesalius and Fabricius. The latter became interested in the human circulatory system, and he conveyed his interest to a young Englishman, William Harvey, who was studying at Padua at that time. William Harvey (1578-1657) was a Cambridge graduate who went to Padua in 1597, becoming a doctor of medicine there. On returning to England in 1609 he became physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. In 1616, while lecturing at the College of Physicians in London, he expounded his theory on the circulation of the blood. The notes of these lectures were published at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1628 under the title "An Anatomical Dissertation Concerning the Motion of the Heart and the Blood in Animals." In this work Harvey described the perpetual flow of the blood through the body in a figure 8 circuit, and recognised the fact that in the extremities there was a connection between the arteries and the veins. Work with the microscope was in its infancy, and it was left to an Italian, Malpighi, to demonstrate the minute blood vessels that linked the arteries with the veins. Harvey was essentially a practical man, and his work was based on actual dissection. There is evidence to show that Harvey dissected as many as eighty different types of animals to prove his work. He was a staunch Royalist, and after the defeat of Charles I in 1642 he retired from public life.

Many scientists were coming to the foreground at this period of English history, and all felt the need of a central place to discuss their work. Sir Francis Bacon had hinted at the formation of a scientific society in England in his book *New Atlantis*, published a few months after his death in 1626. This book described a Utopian country in which there was a large research station which he termed the House of Solomon. John Evelyn (1620-1706) was greatly influenced by the book, and with the help of Robert Boyle founded the "Invisible College," a society for exchanging views with scientists both in England and on the Continent. Despite the Civil War this society flourished, and later took up permanent residence in London at Gresham College, founded by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1598 as a means of educating the citizens of London in scientific matters. Professors of law, divinity, music, geometry and astronomy were appointed, each to give a series of lectures three times a year. In 1662 Charles II gave a Royal Charter to the "Invisible College," and it was renamed the Royal Society. Later a

second charter was granted which stated that members of the society should be called Fellows of the Royal Society. Charles II became founder and patron. There were 119 original members of the society amongst them Robert Boyle.

Robert Boyle is often called "The Father of Chemistry." He was born in 1627 and lived for sixty-four years. Boyle distinguished between elements, mixtures and compounds, and did a whole variety of experiments on the air, mixing colours and magnetism. He prepared phosphorus, collected hydrogen and studied the forms of crystals. Robert Boyle overthrew the old ideas of the medieval alchemists and their constant striving to turn base metals into gold. He placed chemistry on a true scientific basis, releasing it from the aura of witchcraft that surrounded it during the Dark Ages of English history. His book *The Sceptical Chymist*, may be regarded as the first document of modern chemistry. Boyle is chiefly remembered for two important principles: the definition of an element, and a law concerning gases. The latter is now termed Boyle's law, and states that the volume of a gas varies with pressure if the temperature remains constant. Boyle was also a philosopher as well as a distinguished chemist and physicist. He believed that God made the world in the beginning, and was constantly re-creating to keep it going.

The right-hand man of Boyle in all his experimental work was Robert Hooke (1635-1703), a very brilliant worker who explored all fields of science. For some years previously the Dutch had been making microscopes and looking at the minute life found in pond water. Hooke became interested in the compound microscope, and looking at sections of cork discovered that it was composed of box-like arrangements which he termed cells. This was an important biological discovery and paved the way for the cell theory of Schleiden and Schwann, who discovered that all living matter, both animal and plant, was composed of these box-like units. In 1665 Hooke published his *Micrographia*, which contained drawings of such things as the eye of a fly, bits of cloth and seeds as seen under the microscope. Charles II and others became interested in the microscope and the new world of biology that it revealed. This work of Hooke's, however, led the Royal Society into criticism. For example, Dr. South, the University Orator at Oxford, declared in 1669 that the members of the Royal Society could do nothing but admire fleas, lice and themselves. Boyle appointed Hooke as curator of the Royal Society, in which capacity his inventive genius shone both in conducting his own experiments and helping others with theirs. His inventions are very numerous and included perfecting the mainsprings of watches and the air-pump which enabled Boyle to carry out his experiments on gases. In his old age Robert Hooke became very quarrelsome, opposing many ideas of his fellow members of the Royal Society and becoming Sir Isaac Newton's most dangerous critic.

Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) was a member of the Royal Society. To the general public of to-day Wren is remembered by his architectural work, but he was also a scientist. Fischer said of him that he was the greatest Englishman since Shakespeare. In architecture

was a genius, and St. Paul's Cathedral stands witness to this. He was a brilliant mathematician and professor of astronomy at Oxford. Wren was knighted in 1674. The year 1680 was a critical one for the Royal Society, and the meetings held were very poorly attended. John Evelyn, not a great scientist but an ardent supporter of the Royal Society, was greatly distressed, and appealed to Boyle to take over the presidency. Boyle refused, and Sir Christopher Wren was elected. He was president for only two years, but during that time he revived the Royal Society to a great extent, although the revival was only to be proved temporary. Sir Christopher Wren, being both astronomer and architect, suggested to Charles II that a building should be erected at Greenwich to serve as an observatory. In 1675 the building was opened as the Royal Observatory, and Dr. John Flamsteed (1646-1720) was placed in charge and became the first Astronomer Royal. Flamsteed, a clergyman born in Derbyshire, wanted to make the positions of the heavenly bodies more accurate, to enable navigators to determine their longitude while at sea with more exactness. The result of his labours was the preparation of a star catalogue which included the positions of some 3,000 stars. The catalogue was not published until after his death. Of the early members of the Royal Society four of them produced work which has survived the cruel test of time and has made a profound impression upon scientific thought. These men were Hooke with his work with the microscope, Wren and his architecture, Boyle with his work on chemistry, and Newton in the realm of physics. Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was born at Woolsthorpe Manor House, near Grantham. During his schooldays at Grantham he showed a very mechanical bend of mind. In 1661 he went to Cambridge to study mathematics and did not show himself as a brilliant student; in fact he was criticised by his professors for his lack of knowledge of geometry. The year of the Plague, 1665, saw him back at Woolsthorpe looking after the estate. Most of the time, however, he spent in philosophical meditations, especially on the subject of gravity. Hooke, Wren and Halley, the latter an astronomer with a comet named after him, were so interested in gravitation. Halley heard Newton's views on the subject and helped him financially in the publication of Newton's great work, *Principia*. This work, written in Latin, sold very quickly. In *Principia* Newton made deductions from the experimental work of Galileo, and expounded his own law of universal gravitation, i.e. that the force between two bodies is proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. Newton had become a member of the Royal Society in 1672, fourteen years before the *Principia* was published. In 1703 he became president, and the following year saw the publication of his book *Opticks*, containing his famous experiments on light and the spectral colours. Newton also performed wide researches in the field of pure mathematics and discovered the methods of the calculus. Pope, a contemporary poet, paid tribute to Newton with the lines:

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night :
God said, " Let Newton be," and all was light.

Records of the early meetings of the Royal Society were kept by Henry Oldenburg, who from 1665 to 1677 was the editor of the oldest English scientific journal, *Philosophical Transactions*. In this magazine all the scientific news of the day was summed up. After Oldenburg's death Hooke took over the editorship (1679-82) and the name of the journal was temporarily changed to *Philosophical Collections*.

Many non-scientific members of the Royal Society wrote on. Thomas Sprat published a history of the Royal Society when it was suffering from much criticism, and Abraham Cowley, as a preface to the book, wrote the "Ode to the Royal Society." The seventeenth century was a great time for English science with the founding of the Royal Society where scientists could meet to exchange views and carry out experiments. The idea of the Royal Society began in the tranquil days of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but it came into being during the stormy days of the Civil War and yet survived. The end of the seventeenth century saw the commencement of the reign of William and Mary, a peaceful time in which scientists could experiment and meditate. Science, however, made its greatest strides during the early days of the Royal Society, for at the turn of the century scientists began to leave the realms of pure science and concentrate on applied science, the inventions eventually leading to the Industrial Revolution.

MERVYN D. COLES.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OIL FROM CANADA

WHAT is happening in Persia makes interesting, perhaps important, the possible prospect of a Canadian redress of the oil balance. It happens that recent estimates of that prospect have revolutionised the former assumptions about Canada's potentiality as a producer of oil and gas. Some account was given by J. Stevenson in the June CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of the new oilfields in Alberta. Up to now there has been little inclination in any quarter to specialise on oil to question the de Golyer verdict of 1944. In that year Dr. Everette de Golyer led a United States Petroleum Commission to the Middle East. As a result he made this famous prognosis: "The centre of gravity of world oil production is shifting from the Gulf Caribbean area to the Middle East and is likely to continue to shift until it is firmly established in that area." The main consideration that underlay so sweeping a forecast was the huge increase of oil reserves in the Middle East as proved in the period between January 1936 and December 1940. In those five years it was proved, at the cost of only some 100 exploratory wells, that the estimate of Middle East reserves was to be increased fivefold; and the new reserves discovered there, which were estimated at 22,175 million barrels, were equal to the total world reserves as known at the beginning of that five-year period.

After 1940 the Middle East exploration was discontinued till after

war, but it was continued in, for instance, the United States, where eloquent contrasting result was obtained that between 1936 and 1947 only 10,925 million barrels of new reserves were proved, at a cost of 10,000 exploratory wells; and throughout the rest of the world the total of proved new reserves was not more than 8,355 million barrels. An entirely new factor of an incalculable potentiality has now emerged. Canadian oil is a new thing; and Canada is a big country, where the problem of transport enters largely into the economic calculation; but the experience of the last four years has opened up an unexpected new vista in this matter of world oil supplies. Interest centres almost exclusively in the new fields opened in Alberta. Although the search for oil has been going on in Canada for some forty years—ever since the Dingman discovery in 1914—yet no one ever imagined that a substantial result was likely: not until February 1947, when the famous Leduc field was discovered. Since then the whole situation has been transformed. In four years output has been quadrupled. The sense of sensational feeling that now grows almost daily is due to the astonishing rate at which the oil multiplies. In the first week of the present year deliveries leaped from 61,000 to 103,000 barrels a day: that increase is merely typical of what is happening. The international pipeline is already carrying well over a hundred thousand barrels daily across the continent. The oil has to be carried 2,000 miles from Edmonton, the oil centre, to the major markets in Ontario and Quebec; but in these days of gigantic commercial enterprise such a problem is solved almost as soon as presented.

Already the proved reserves in the Alberta field amount to 1,250 million barrels, or to about the same as the Mexican reserves. Four states in the United States—Texas, California, Louisiana and Oklahoma—have greater proved reserves; but the Canadian stripling is a mere 40-year-old, kicking lustily. A new pipeline, 1,200 miles long, is already in operation, with its outlet at Superior, Wisconsin, at the head of the Great Lakes. The rate at which the commercial exploitation of the new industry expands may be judged by the fact that some \$500 million has been devoted to the Alberta field since 1947, and that new expenditure for exploration, development and refineries (exclusive of pipeline development) in 1951 and 1952 is estimated at a further \$500 million. Projected pipelines are under consideration from Alberta westward to British Columbia. Mr. N. E. Tanner, Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys in the Province of Alberta, has lately made this statement: "The great sedimentary basin in Western Canada, some 800,000 square miles in area, offers untold possibilities for the production of oil and gas. The reserves in Alberta, where most of the exploration and development have been taken place, were approximately 1,100 million barrels at the beginning of 1951. When one considers the relatively small amount of exploration and drilling that has been done in this country as compared with the United States one realises the enormous potential of Western Canada." That passage is taken from an article contributed by Mr. Tanner to a Canadian Review number of *World Petroleum* (West 45th Street, New York 19) of April 1951, which gives a comprehensive survey of the Canadian prospect. Copies of that publication

can be got from the London branch office at 342 St. Paul's Corner Ludgate Hill, E.C.4.

An incidental source of bewilderment and anxiety is presented to farsighted British financiers by the circumstance that though the British interest in Persian oil is at this time being forcibly threatened by the Persian Government, to the probable direct loss of the British Government itself, it is at the same time impossible, made impossible by the shortsighted stipulations of that same British Government for British capital to peg out any claims in the vast future of Canadian industry, including its oil. The point was put by Mr. L. A. Stride at the annual general meeting held in London on June 21st last of the Industrial and General Trust, of which he is chairman. "In the past," he said, "we have helped substantially in building up new enterprises in the Americas. At the moment we are precluded from making increased investment in the American market or taking a part in the financing of new projects in the United States and Canada . . . the virtual exclusion of new British capital from these two fields is most regrettable, particularly with regard to Canada. She is supremely rich in natural resources . . . we members of the British Commonwealth are prevented from assisting her development, yet we learn from a reliable source that in December 1950 alone net sales of Canadian securities in countries other than Britain and the United States reached \$5,400,000, and that European Continentals, in particular French, Belgian, German and Italian, are now investing in Canada at an even greater rate, with Switzerland as the main channel. It surely behoves our Government to allow the genuine British investor to resume his traditional role of helping the expansion of Dominion enterprise by putting in fresh capital."

Whether or not it be helped by British capital, there is now little doubt that oil from Canada is a potentially big factor in the future incidence of world oil supplies. Nowadays the face of things in industry and commerce is apt to change with disconcerting swiftness. The relative importance that was commonly assigned to Middle Eastern oil only seven years ago has already been modified. Other factors have in the meantime assumed a relatively greater importance. Mr. Neville Baker, British Minister of Fuel and Power, gave a warning, for instance, on June 22nd last, in the context of the Persian crisis, against an assumption that if Persian supplies of oil were totally cut off it would imply the "swift, irreparable disaster which some people have predicted. In the course of a statement he issued on that day he gave the following reasons for modifying so pessimistic an estimate. "There are," he said, "other refineries in the world, whose output of refined products could be much and rapidly increased. It is difficult to make exact estimates of the results that might, by a co-operative effort, be achieved, but for some time now I have had all the best informed and most competent people hard at work. They advise me that if Persian supplies were totally shut down 7½ million tons of crude oil and 22 million tons of refined products would be lost. But against this the British companies could almost immediately find 6 million tons of crude oil from other sterling sources, and could refine 8 million tons

re in other plants throughout the world. This leaves a gap, large in itself, but small in relation to the total world production of more than 10 million tons a year. The investigations which have been made so far suggest that, taking stocks into account and the emergency measures which could be taken to increase production, the actual deficit should not be more than 3 to 4 million tons."

A RESURGENT EAST

A quarter of a century ago one who had had experience of official Eastern affairs, Chinese as well as Indian, gave public warning of what he called the danger of a gigantic conflict between a resurgent East and an out-of-date West. Lord Willingdon, when he gave that warning, did not, however, experience that further development of the relationship between the East and the West which was destined to put his prognosis out of date. Between the first and the second world wars little more was evident in that relationship than an impatience in Western lands of what the West still thoughtlessly and complacently—in this sense the West being out of date—regarded as "the white man's burden." The East had woken up to the suspicion—which was only partly well founded—that the real burden rested upon the yellow, not upon the white, shoulders, and that the white man in the upshot was more of a beneficiary than a benefactor. To-day, something more alarming has taken shape.

A climax in the materialist self-seeking of our time has been signalled by the coincidence of Eastern self-assertiveness with Communist opportunism. In other words the strategists of the Kremlin have tried with some success to suggest that Eastern liberation from Western exploitation coincides in its ideology with Moscow's own war upon what Moscow calls Western "imperialism." The Kremlin's tactic, therefore, is to subjugate the several Eastern countries through the instrumentality of indigenous Communist agitators, the latest example being the activity of the Tudeh Party in Persia, which lies in wait for the possible outbreak of anarchy in that country as a result of the Government's incontinent bid to "nationalise," that is to confiscate, the oil industry. The East is on the march; marching under a banner of self-interest in an exclusively materialist sense, ungrateful for past help, essential help, received from the West, bent only on grabbing whatever spoils may fall within the immediate scope of political power. *in culpa?* The outstanding characteristic of an outrageous half-century has been the crudity of the initial fault. The example of materialist, selfish acquisitiveness was set by the dominant West; so shall blame the backward masses of the East for blindly following the bad example?

It happens that many of the world's important raw materials are to be found in abundance in the Middle East: oil, rubber and tin pre-eminently among them. The Persian Government has shocked the Western world by its unscrupulous bid for the assets belonging to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company without relevance to the justice of its claim nor to its own formally incurred obligations in the matter. There is always hope in a climax; because a climax has a way of forcing people

to think out the essential factors in a situation. There is no doubt that the Persian impulse to grab the assets of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company does constitute a climax. The hope it inspires is that by opening the eyes of the political West to the moral connotations of what we glibly call "nationalisation," it may help the Western leaders to take stock of their own pet practices.

Indeed other circumstances have conspired to the like end. It has become a latter-day fashion among, for instance, the Socialist leaders in Great Britain to warn their followers that the Socialist experiment cannot succeed if the intended beneficiaries thereof be concentrated on what they stand to receive from it, and give no thought to what they can and ought to contribute to it : in other words, that there can be no taking-out unless first there be a putting-in. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison have both harped on this theme as the economic and financial facts of their "planning" have become plain to them. There are certain economic facts that the theoretic planner often begins by ignoring and always ends by acknowledging, namely, item, that there is no such thing as "unearned" anything ; for somebody must pay for it and somebody must earn, every benefit.

Moreover, political power is not necessarily synonymous with justice or with decency. When the Persian Government grabs a huge industrial, economic and financial undertaking, even if the compensation were adequate on prevailing capital standards, the British Government, being the main shareholder in the concern, is given a troubled leisure to appreciate the fact that such compensation only partly meets the moral case. Idle capital, made idle by the Persian Government's edicts, would be no reward for benefits conferred by the capital upon Persia. By such devious and unpredictable means we are able to observe that the simple elementary truths cannot indefinitely be held down ; the simplest and most elementary of those truths being that under the mystery whereby we live man can receive his share of God's gifts only by first surrendering them.

Materialist selfishness has been the sin and the curse of our time. It began in the West. It is continued in the East. It involves in its devastation the prevalence of that great human folly which goes by the name of war, and which cannot be called off unless and until there is a change of heart among the people who manage our public affairs. The moral degradation that has been produced by half a century of moral error is the main item in the evidence that has to be weighed by the sincere student. Mr. Gromyko on one side and Mr. Malik on the other side of the Atlantic can hold up the processes of international diplomacy by a technique of cynicism, chicanery and deception to which the Western politicians must needs listen in helpless bewilderment. Such is the penalty in the diplomatic field for the blunders committed half a century ago ; committed by the Western Christian Powers themselves, not by the marauding atheists who now constitute the main menace. It is merely incidental to the disturbance that the political leaders of the Eastern peoples have learned the first of the materialist dogmas, namely, that might is right. How then is the Nemesis of an originally Western fault to be arrested ? Or can it be

rested? The answer is easy to guess though it be not easy to apply, namely, that the change of heart must begin, as the fault began, in the West. By a process of poetic justice it will fall to the West to put right what it first put wrong.

WHAT IS "MATERIALISM"?

If one is to measure the magnitude of the rescue work that must be done before the world can escape from the sinister conditions that now beset us, it is necessary to be clear in one's mind about the meaning of the word "materialism." When the world went to war in 1914 it abandoned itself wholly to a certain technique or way of life, that way of life, namely, which is based upon the false assumption that we can possess only what we win and hold by force. To-day when Persia, China, Egypt and many other countries of the Middle and Far East are engaged, under the coaching of the Kremlin, in arrogating to themselves every materialist asset upon which they can lay their hands, without thought even of compensation for those who in one way or another have in the past created or developed the assets, we see the materialist "philosophy" in its full application. Only one essential object is recognised, namely, the defeat of whatever competitor there may be for the spoils. Neither morality nor truth weigh anything in the scales. More than a year ago, under Russian coaching, a sudden aggression was launched from North Korea in order to annex that remaining non-Communist half of the peninsula into the Communist empire. A year later, the aggression having in effect failed, a so-called peace suggestion was sent out from Moscow and from Peking bedecked with its trimmings with suggestions that as the aggression of the United States against the peace-loving Communist countries had been proved a failure, it might be that a chastened United States might now listen to reason and to pacific counsel. The abstract truth has no part in the materialist way of life.

Moscow's campaign is against the old Christian civilisation centred in the West. In its still prevailing phase its objective is to poison the minds of all Eastern peoples against the peoples of the West, an objective that is pursued with skill and without pause. An illuminating account appeared in *The Times* of June 27th last of the methods pursued by the Bolshevik agitators in the case of Egypt, a case which is typical of all the others. It was written by *The Times* Cairo correspondent. Those who have observed the pattern of Bolshevik practice in the field of foreign aggression cannot be surprised at what *The Times* correspondent revealed. Too much of the like kind has gone before. For instance, it happens that what is occurring in Persia is itself not new. The anti-sabotage Bill recently introduced in the Majlis in Teheran was even expected by those who have taken the trouble to remember precedents. The device was merely intended to ensure that no compensation should be paid to the dispossessed. The former owners would simply be branded as saboteurs and, therefore, by reason of the Act, criminals, to whom no payment could be made. The exactly same device was used more than three years ago in the case of the dispossessed owners of Rumanian oil concerns, who when they claimed

compensation to which they were theoretically entitled were roundly informed that they had no claim because they were criminals under the terms of the anti-sabotage decrees—a charge that was technically unanswerable because the decrees defined sabotage in so comprehensive a category and scope that it was impossible for any official of the former oil companies to do anything at all without contravening one or other of the regulations.

The Times correspondent above referred to describes the concentrated anti-British propaganda that has broken out in Egyptian newspapers, including some new organs that have emerged for the very purpose, revealing both a centralised direction in the subject matter and an abundance of funds to pay for the campaign. The main theme is as crude as it normally is in this sort of Kremlin-directed propaganda abroad. One of the oddities is that the dupes seem not to be capable of suspicion about it, no matter how crude it be. For Egypt the prescribed argument, as may be guessed, is that Egypt has to choose between the grasping, exploiting, militarist, aggressive West, especially Great Britain, on the one part and peace-loving Russia, protector of the weak, on the other. Even in this setting something is inserted about the bloodsucking oil companies. In one paper an alleged conversation is reported between Mr. Vyshinsky and an Egyptian citizen, in the course of which Mr. Vyshinsky is reported to have said: "The Soviet people are a peaceful people and the Soviet régime is based on respect for other people's sovereignty. Why don't you convince your people, statesmen and deputies that Russia will never attack Egypt or any other country? The true case is between Egypt and Imperialist Britain. Russia has repeatedly offered proofs that she stands by Egypt's side in her righteous struggle against imperialism, as she has stood by every people who arise to liberate their country."

The interesting thing is that Russian propaganda is based deliberately on the supposition that the uncounted millions of the Middle and Far East, constituting a majority of the human race, are in every sense backward—backward in both their economic condition and in their mental equipment. The critical question is whether Soviet deception can succeed in enticing those peoples into the Soviet net before the effect can be felt of the campaign sponsored by the British Commonwealth and the United States for helping the backward peoples of the world in order precisely to save them from the Communist trap. The Colombo plan, for instance, came into formal operation on July 1st of the present year. The whole of Asia is at stake, as are those Middle Eastern lands where important raw materials are found: important for the peace of the world. The crisis of our time is none other than the logical outcome of a materialist tendency in world affairs which was started forty years ago through the fault mainly of those Western Powers upon whom now depends our salvation. Those Powers were the dominant influence in the world and are therefore responsible for the main course of events. The Nemesis has taken a form that reveals an almost ironic degree of justice: for the very basis of the materialist greed that led the Great Powers astray is now put in jeopardy by the further consequence of that greed. Oil, tin, rubber,

otton : these are important raw materials which largely emanate from lands that were formerly dependent upon the patronage of the Great Powers, but which now are encouraged to defy those Powers, and are in danger of joining forces with that iniquitous modern aggression that radiates from the Kremlin.

Russian Communism itself was the first evil result of the Great Power plunder of 1914. It was the first world war that gave to Lenin the opportunity he took with such disastrous effects upon the general welfare of mankind. It was the sufferings and bewilderment of the two wars that enabled the modern tyrant to hoodwink his intended victims by suggesting that all the evils resulted from the "imperialism" and "exploitation" of what we know as the Western Powers, the said victims in their distress not being able to discern that a greater imperialism, a greater exploitation, a tyranny unexampled in history lay in wait for them, in the very form of their *soi-disant* friend and helper. It may be that only a miracle can save the world from so subtle a danger ; but there is nothing odd in miracle. Indeed in one sense there is nothing so commonplace as miracle. But miracle in this sense needs the co-operation of the human beneficiary. Before God can do His part it is necessary for us to do our part. In the crisis now upon us all we have to do is to recognise what constitutes materialism, to face the fact that we, the "free world," started the materialist downward plunge, and to change our attitude to the complex problems of international affairs by the substitution of a motive of mutual service for the traditional motive of competitive self-seeking ; in a word, to substitute a spiritual for a materialist motive : and then we may leave the results to God. There is no alternative hope of rescue from the fantastic conditions of this present time.

July 11th, 1951.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THE LAST OF THE RADICALS

Miss Wedgwood's life of her distinguished uncle* is not only a labour of love but a little masterpiece of interpretation. Those who knew him best will enjoy it most, for in these pages he lives again. If not a great man in the ordinary sense of the word, he was beyond doubt a great citizen. Possessing marked ability and dynamic energy, he dedicated himself without stint to the furtherance of the principles dearer to him than life. Liberty was his religion : liberty for individuals, including conscientious objectors, to express their opinions ; liberty of the Irish, the Boers and the Indians to govern themselves ; liberty for the Jews to practise their way of life in the land of their fathers ; liberty for the common man to make the fullest use of the bounty of nature. Every Liberal—and a Liberal in spirit he remained to the day of his death—is an optimist at heart, and only an optimist could have fought so strenuously for the rights of man. Though he changed his party allegiance after the first world war when he found the Liberal pace too slow for his liking, he never changed his ideology.

His disinterestedness was as incontestable as his courage, and no one ever

* *The Last of the Radicals*. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P. By C. V. Wedgwood. Jonathan Cape. 16s.

detected or suspected the pursuit of personal advantage in his many campaigns. He loved a fight as dearly as his friend Winston Churchill, and was ready in case of need to hazard his life in a duel. He championed minority causes as zealously as Henry Nevinston himself. Some reviewers of this biography conclude that he completely failed as a politician, pointing to such facts as his exclusion from the second Labour Ministry and his inability to convert his countrymen to Henry George's doctrine of the single tax. This, I think, is a mistake. Like a medieval knight he was made for single combat, not for the team-work required by the party system. Like Bagehot, who defined himself as "between sizes," he preferred to make up his mind on every issue as it arose and to carry his flag to victory or defeat. His strength lay in his rugged independence, never more complete than in his later years when party fetters were cast aside. Cobden was a greater force in Parliament and the country as a private member than if he had accepted Palmerston's offer of the Board of Trade. Bright counted for less as a Minister than as a voice crying in the wilderness. Leonard Courtney in a Cabinet would have pined like an eagle with its wings clipped. To this little company of free lances Wedgwood belonged as of right.

"His significance was of character, rather than of achievement," writes his biographer in a striking passage which reveals that she has grasped the essence of the man. "Justice and the integrity of the individual came first with him, and he conceived of politics not as the art of the possible but as an aspiration towards the impossible. If a thing seemed right to him, he liked it all the better for being inexpedient. He lost interest in a winning cause, for it no longer needed him." His whole life was a crusade, not against wind-mills but against cruelty and oppression, regimentation, standardisation, totalitarianism of every colour and shape. Such figures are rare in our machine age, all the more since men of independent means who can snap their fingers at the party machine are being squeezed out by the tax-collector. If happiness is to be found in self-fulfilment, in following the deepest urges of heart and mind, Wedgwood was among the happiest of men. The collapse of his first marriage, which opened so auspiciously, almost broke his heart, but never soured him or destroyed his resilience. Loving his country and its free institutions with passionate intensity, all the more because he knew so much about its history, he revealed his British patriotism by volunteering in two wars, and the wider humanitarianism of a citizen of the world by his inexhaustible kindness to the forgotten and the oppressed, among them refugees from many lands and of many creeds. A friend of the friendless, the hope of the hopeless, he enlisted in the army of humanity and spent himself in its service. If he exasperated many by his intransigence, he was loved by many more. Miss Wedgwood's intimate and affectionate record may be described as a commentary on Mr. Churchill's foreword to Wedgwood's autobiography. "Had he achieved nothing more than the example he has set us of unselfish courage and constancy in the support of what he deemed the honour and interest of his fellow-countrymen it would be enough. But the distressed of the whole world have learned to look to him and through him to Parliament for a patient hearing and the redress of wrongs."

G. P. G.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

The latest instalment of the captured *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1818-1945, Series D, Volume III* (Stationery Office, 25s.), is devoted to the Spanish Civil War which raged from the summer of 1936 to the spring of 1939. The general outlines of the story were familiar to us all at the time. The rebellion of Franco, his large-scale assistance by Italy, more limited support

Germany, the volunteer champions of the Republican Government from many lands, the uncertainty of the issue till the end was near, the honest attempts of Great Britain to localise the struggle: all these aspects and episodes are illuminated in nearly a thousand pages of dispatches and memoranda. The reports of the German Ambassadors in Madrid and Rome and those of Ribbentrop in London are particularly interesting. Everyone sensed that the civil war raised wider issues, for the Chancelleries were mainly concerned with the Balance of Power in Europe. Italy was far more interested in the triumph of Franco than Germany, since she was above all a Mediterranean State. Hitler, on the other hand, his head full of secret plans of aggression in central Europe, desired to limit his commitments in Spain. The reports of conversation with Franco reveal a soldier to whom all democratic institutions meant weakness. England and France, he declared in January 1939, were "declining Powers whose methods were not suited to a rising Spain." Though he was unenthusiastic about his allies, there was no doubt in Germany that "he could not hold out for long, even after outward successes, without large-scale support from outside." Such was the judgment of Admiral Raeder in the opening phase of the rebellion, and such was the conviction of Hitler when it had succeeded. "Without the help of Italy and Germany," he remarked to Ciano in September 1940, "there would be no Franco to-day." However desirable in the eyes of American soldiers the use of Spanish aerodromes in the third world war may appear, no student of this massive volume could with decency claim for totalitarian Spain a place among the free nations of the West.

G. P. G.

THE BRITISH OVERSEAS

The story of the growth of the British Empire forms undoubtedly one of the most fascinating chapters in the great book of history. How did it come about that the inhabitants of a small island off the coast of Europe became the founders not only of the largest empire the world had ever seen but of an unique political system which has influenced and shaped practically every part of the globe? Why is it that the English language, English ideas and institutions have spread to all the corners of the earth while former empires have hardly left a trace of themselves behind? These are the questions that have often been asked and that Mr. Carrington has set out to answer in this ambitious book.* It is truly an enormous task which might easily have daunted any historian, but Mr. Carrington brings to his task not only exceptional erudition and industry but a tremendous enthusiasm. He obviously enjoyed writing this book, which is perhaps the chief reason why it is so eminently readable in spite of its rather overpowering bulk. A detailed history of the Empire might easily have degenerated into a rather dreary catalogue of failures and achievements, of hopes fulfilled or frustrated, but Mr. Carrington skilfully avoids this danger, and although the story is broken up chronologically and regionally it runs smoothly enough and holds the attention of the reader all the time. It is perhaps unavoidable that in a work of this magnitude some parts should be better than others. Mr. Carrington comes from New Zealand, and it is therefore not surprising that his account of the history of this Dominion, in particular his story of the Canterbury settlement, makes almost exciting reading, while I found his treatment of India less satisfactory. It is only when he deals with India and its vast problems that he makes the reader feel a bit overwhelmed with details, so that he begins to lose the thread of the story. Perhaps this also was unavoidable as the story of the British in India, which incidentally has not been fully

* *The British Overseas*. By C. E. Carrington. Cambridge University Press. £2 2s.

told yet, would require a work of similar dimensions to itself. Mr. Carrington seems to feel this himself as he pleads that he was concerned in the first place with the story of the dispersion of the British people in the world whose permanent settlements in the empty lands of the temperate zone he wanted to describe. And yet the book was bound to develop into something more than a mere account of the diffusion of the British race; it inevitably became an account of the diffusion of British ideas as well. Indeed, later historians might well consider the second aspect as the far more important one.

The present moment in history is clearly a particularly opportune one for such a process of stocktaking as this important book represents. Not only has the period of overseas settlement of people of British stock come to an end but momentous changes have taken place in the structure of the Empire, which some people, like Dr. Malan, interpret as signs of disintegration, while others see in them evidence for the amazing resilience and adaptability of the forces that hold the Commonwealth together. Mr. Carrington does not concern himself very much with these changes, and would have preferred to close his account with the signing of the Ottawa agreements. Neither does he make any attempt to assess the far-reaching influence which the second world war has had on the economic and political structure of the Empire. It is most probably too early to do full justice to these recent developments, the full consequences of which have not even become wholly clear to the present generation. At any rate, even if we might regret this omission we are deeply grateful for this book, which should be widely read, particularly by the young generation. It is bound to contribute to a deeper knowledge of a subject about which often even quite well-informed people are surprisingly and deplorably ignorant. It is a fascinating story, it is above all the story of an institution without which, as Mr. Carrington duly emphasises, our civilisation would be immensely the poorer. Mr. Carrington rejects the often quoted remark that the British founded their Empire in a fit of absent-mindedness, but he rejects equally firmly the statement that it was the fulfilment of some consciously executed plan. In fact, of course, it was neither; both Seeley and Hobson were widely off the mark in their interpretation of it. In reading this book we realise more clearly than ever that the story of the British Empire was in the first place a human story, a story of the aspirations and hopes, the virtues and follies, of human beings, co-operating, often quite unconsciously and unwittingly, in a grand endeavour which undoubtedly has brought suffering and injustice to some, but has brought hope and progress to countless millions.

DR. REINHOLD ARIS.

JUSTICE AND LOVE*

One of the most depressing features of our era is the undoubted increase of violence in private and public life and the corresponding deterioration in moral standards, which seems to make mockery of the confident Victorian belief that the world was getting better every day. It is therefore a relief to hear a voice which preaches love instead of violence. The author was a distinguished German lawyer who came to this country as a political refugee, having fled from exactly that type of unjust and violent régime which he deprecates in his political philosophy as outlined in this stimulating little book. He joined the Society of Friends, and the present book expands a lecture at Friends' House, in which he embarks on the very ambitious task of defining the idea of justice and of discovering how man can hope to make

* *Justice and the Law of Love*. Swarthmore Lecture 1950. By Konrad Braun. Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

a practical reality. In view of his religious convictions, it is not surprising to find that his analysis of the conception leads him to a position in which the idea of love both informs and transcends that of justice.

Perhaps it would help the reader to understand the spiritual position of the author better if some attempt had been made to define the conception of love a little more precisely beyond the somewhat mystical statement that it is "the original source, the sustaining and redeeming element of all life."

In any case, in comparison with this majestic conception of love as the greatest spiritual reality and as an all-powerful spiritual force, the idea of justice is of secondary importance; it becomes a kind of *pis aller* which is important chiefly because of the inability of man to make love the basis of the world. The author evolves an interesting theory of social, or perhaps spiritual evolution, in which he classifies social stages according to the degree of love discernible in them, with the jungle and its complete absence of love at one end of the scale and the Kingdom of Love at the other. Although, however, justice is merely a pale reflection of love it is yet important as an approximation, and it is in the light of this realisation that the author discusses concrete political problems of great relevance to all of us. Although he refuses to set up rules of conduct by which the prescription "we ought to obey God rather than men" could be concretely interpreted, he is emphatic that resistance must be non-violent. This applies both in the relations of individuals to the State and in the relation of States to each other. Logically, his attitude should lead to the anarchist pacificism of Tolstoy, whose thought is rather surprisingly almost completely ignored, but in fact this uncompromising conclusion is not reached. The author is prepared to give Cæsar his due by recognising the need for coercion, without however avoiding certain inconsistencies and contradictions in his line of reasoning. He maintains, to quote only one of these, that international sanctions are not directed against individuals, but against States which may contain many innocent individuals, whereas State sanctions as applied by the law are directed against guilty individuals. The latter are in consequence allowed while the former would only be permissible in a world federation. I do not think this line of reasoning either very sound or convincing. Sanctions against individuals often necessitate or at least imply great injustice, for instance, against the completely innocent children of the punished criminal, and sanctions applied by a world government against a member State would look very much like any other war. One cannot help contemplating that if the author's theory had been applied against Nazi Germany, the world to-day would be plunged into a rule of unprecedented injustice and the author's book would never have been written. This clearly would have been a pity, because it should be widely read and discussed even by those who do not share the author's views, but respect his undoubted sincerity and anxiety about the spiritual crisis of our age.

DR. REINHOLD ARIS.

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Ten Days to Die, by Michael Musmanno (Peter Davies, 12s. 6d.), supplements Mr. Trevor-Roper's *Last Days of Hitler* with a mass of additional information collected from hundreds of witnesses, including all the survivors who watched the closing scene in the Berlin bomb-proof bunker under the ruins of the Chancellery. The American judge has left no stone unturned to discover the truth about the last phase of the stormy career of the megalomaniac who shed more blood than Napoleon, and his narrative is as dramatic as any thriller. The more he learned about the arch-criminal the more he respected and despised him, but he never attempts to minimise the dynamic power of his oratory and his personality. It is a repulsive story of half-crazy

ambition and ruthless cruelty, and we feel the same moral satisfaction at the last act as when we read of Robespierre and Fouquier-Tinville being dragged to the guillotine. The most important of the revelations is that Eva Braun, a pretty shop-girl, was the Führer's mistress for fourteen years. She wished to be his wife, but the marriage only took place in the bunker on the eve of their simultaneous suicide. Though he loved the frivolous girl as much as such an egoist could love anyone, he lacked the moral courage to dispel the belief of his followers that he lived a dedicated and ascetic life. The picture of the fallen demigod in his last days and hours, bent, broken and almost inarticulate, with the Russian bombs and guns roaring over his head, stripped him of every shred of dignity. Among his leading associates Himmler easily wins the prize for fiendish cruelty.

G. P. G.

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The World Rebuilt, by Peter Howard (2s. 6d.), tells the story of Dr. Frank Buchman, and gives an account of the great movement for Moral Rearmament which he has founded and led throughout the world. Its essential meaning and purpose is to offer an uplifting alternative to Marxist Communism. The movement has been welcomed and supported by leading statesmen in every continent. It therefore challenges attentive study by all who are seeking to win peace for mankind, and fellowship between all peoples and all classes in every nation. Moral Rearmament is entitled to more. It is to be welcomed and supported by all who seek peace through faithful righteousness and freedom—the only effective means of securing peace. I commend *The World Rebuilt* to the study of all such.

DR. J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

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Korea Today, by George M. McCune (Allen & Unwin, 25s.), is the first panoramic survey of the background of the war. No praise can be too high for its thoroughness, clarity and impartiality. Born in Korea and living nearly half his life there, he knew the people at first hand. The book was finished and the author dead before the aggression of the North, but he would hardly have been surprised had he lived to witness the catastrophe. The closing chapter, "The Future of a Divided Korea," prepares the reader for what was coming. "That each régime was anathema to the other was abundantly clear. The North Korea radio delivered an endless stream of invective against the Republic of Korea in the South. Northern propaganda derided the southern government as the reactionary puppet of American capitalists who sought to make Korea the springboard of American imperialism. In the South the leaders of the northern régime were labelled as traitors who had sold out their country for the Soviet Union." Partition has been particularly disastrous because north and south form an economic unit with most of the minerals and heavy industry in the north, most of the food production in the south. All Koreans demand the removal of the artificial barrier originating from the co-operative expulsion of the Japanese, but each only on its own terms. Unhappily the country is almost wholly unprepared for self-government, for the old independent kingdom was a decrepit autocracy and the Japanese intermezzo was a reign of terror. Syngman Rhee can neither be praised nor blamed. The Korean people, the reader concludes, deserve a better fate than they have had or seem likely to have.